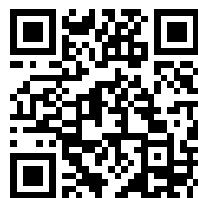

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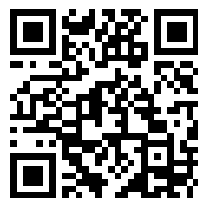
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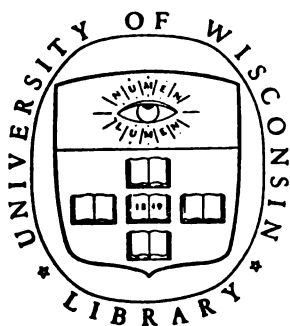
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State Historical
OF WISC
MADISON



QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

WISCONSIN
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

JULY, 1905

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| I. MOORE'S SATIRICAL VERSE. Part II. - Prof. W. F. P. Stockley | 1 |
| II. A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE CASE OF LOUIS REIL. Part II. - C. K. Clarke, M.D. | 14 |
| III. THE PROBLEM OF JOB - S. H. Gray | 27 |
| IV. THE JESUIT RELATIONS - W. Bennett Munro | 38 |
| V. THE CHURCH AND THE MAN - A. McLeod | 48 |
| VI. THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE SCHOOL QUESTION - S. W. Dyde | 59 |
| VII. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY - | 68 |
| VIII. CURRENT EVENTS - | 71 |
| IX. THE UNIVERSITY REPORTS - | 78 |

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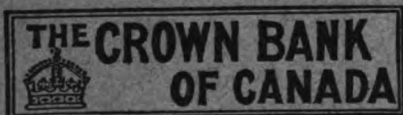
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QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

CONTENTS.

JULY, 1905.

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| I. Moore's Satirical Verse. Part II. - Prof. W. F. P. Stockley | 1 |
| II. A Critical Study of the Case of Louis Reil. Part II. - C. K. Clarke, M.D. | 14 |
| III. The Problem of Job - - - S. H. Gray | 27 |
| IV. The Jesuit Relations - - - W. Bennett Munro | 38 |
| V. The Church and The Man - - - A. McLeod | 48 |
| VI. The Canadian Constitution and the School Question - S. W. Dyde | 59 |
| VII. The General Assembly and Queen's University - - | 68 |
| VIII. Current Events - - - - - | 71 |
| IX. The University Reports - - - - - | 78 |

OCTOBER, 1905.

| | |
|---|-----|
| I. Continental Literature of the Day - - J. Bithell | 95 |
| II. Humanism - - - - John Watson | 106 |
| III. Ontario's Water Powers - - Cecil B. Smith | 127 |
| IV. God in Relation to the Atonement - - James Fraser | 135 |
| V. The Poet Wagner and Parsifal - - S. W. Dyde | 144 |
| VI. The New Silver District - - W. L. Goodwin | 154 |
| VII. Book Reviews - - - - - 160 | |
| (a) Nature and Man : The Romanes Lecture. By Edwin Rae Lankester - - - Jas Third | |
| (b) Lectures on the History of the Middle Ages. By Geo. D. Ferguson - - - Charles Colby | |
| (c) How to Teach the Nature Study Course. By John Dearness - - - J. W. Gibson | |
| (d) Introductory Physiology and Hygiene. By A. P. Knight - - - C. K. Clarke | |
| VIII. Facts and Comments - - - James Cappon | 172 |
| IX. Current Events - - - - A. Shortt | 181 |

JANUARY, 1906.

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| I. The Church and State in France - - - W. L. Grant | 191 |
| II. Wallace's Theory of the Earth - - - Prof. Dupuis | 203 |
| III. The Relation of Music to the Dance - K. H. Drummond | 211 |
| IV. Paracelsus - - - Prof. Goodwin | 219 |
| V. The Skin in Health - - - Prof. Knight | 235 |
| VI. The Poetry of W. B. Yeats - Prof. John Marshall | 241 |
| VII. The Improvement of Rural Schools - R. H. Cowley | 246 |
| VIII. Philosophy and Christian Science - J. M. Harper | 259 |
| IX. Current Events - - - Prof. Cappon | 265 |
| The Force in Favour of Mr. Chamberlain's Policy. | |
| The Seamy Side of Modern Civilization. | |
| Events in Ontario. | |
| Educational Ideals. | |
| A Letter of Protestation. | |
| X. Book Review - - - - - | 290 |

APRIL, 1906.

| | |
|--|------------------|
| I. Forestry : | |
| Forestry Education - - - M. l'abbe Laflamme | 291 |
| Tree Planting on the Prairies - - - Norman M. Ross | 291 |
| Forest Destruction and Preservation - Hon. W. C. Edwards | 307 |
| The Forest as a Regulator of Stream Flow - A. H. D. Ross | 317 |
| II. The Casual Reader of Zarathustra - Alexander McPhail | 324 |
| III. The Church and State in France (<i>Concluded</i>) - W. L. Grant | 340 |
| IV. The Total Eclipse in Spain - - - S. A. Mitchell | 350 |
| V. Book Review : | |
| Comparative Religions by L. H. Jordan, B.S. - - - | |
| | W. G. Jordan 364 |
| VI. Current Events - - - - - James Cappon | 368 |
| The Simoom Amongst the Magnates. | |
| Socialism, Unionism and Law. | |
| A British Feuilletonist : G. K. Chesterton. | |

Queen's Quarterly.

Vol. XIII.

JULY, 1905.

No. 1

MOORE'S SATIRICAL VERSE.

(Continued from April number.)

ACROSS the ocean French enthusiasm and French fanaticism drank intoxicating draughts and wantoned with 'le peuple enfant', 'qui ne pêche jamais que par erreur', rather, as it was, with 'un colosse aveugle'.

"I feebly paint what yet I feel so strong—
The ills, the vices of the land, [America] where first
Those rebel fiends [of France] that rack the world were nursed !
Where treason's arm by royalty was nerved,
And Frenchmen learn'd to crush the throne they served."*

.....
"If thou canst hate, as, oh ! that soul must hate,
Which loves the virtuous and reveres the great,
If thou canst loathe and execrate with me
That Gallic garbage of philosophy,
That nauseous slaver of these frantic times,
With which false liberty dilutes her crimes !
If thou hast.....
.....honest scorn for that inglorious soul
Which creeps and winds, beneath a mob's control,
Which courts the rabble's smile, the rabble's nod,
And makes, like Egypt, every beast its god !"[†]

Well, the Restoration came, and it led 'The Fudge Family' to Paris ; and it was a Whig, sir, that collected their correspondence :

"By the bye, though, at Calais, papa had a touch
Of romance on the pier, which affected me much,
At the sight of that spot, where our darling [Dix-huit]
Set the first of his own dear legitimate feet
(Modell'd out so exactly, and—God bless the mark !—"

**Epistle* vi. To Lord Viscount Forbes ; from the city of Washington.

†*Epistle* vii. To Thomas Hume, Esq., M.D. ; from the same.

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

'Tis a foot, Dolly, worthy so *Grand a M***que*,
 He exclaim'd 'Oh mon R**!' and with tear-dropping eye,
 Stood to gaze on the spot—while some Jacobin, nigh,
 Mutter'd out with a shrug (what an insolent thing !)
 'Ma foi, he be right—'t is de Englishman's K**g ;
 And dat *gros pied de cochon*—begar, me vil say,
 Dat de foot look mosh better, if turn'd toder way.' "

Again, in the fifth Fable for the Holy Alliance—'The Little Grand Lama'—the satirist pricks and teases, it has been said, if he does not lash, kings. It is doubtless amusing; and yet a solemn Tory might say it is ill laughing at a child king, if you have hereditary rulers.

In Thibet once there reign'd, we're told,
 A little Lama, one year old—
 And much his subjects were enchanted,
 As well all Lama's subjects might be,
 And would have given their heads, if wanted,
 To make tee-totums for the baby.

As he was there by right Divine
 What lawyers call *Jure Divino*,
 Meaning a right to yours and mine,
 And everybody's goods and rhino)—
 Of course his faithful subject's purses
 Were ready with their aids and succours—
 Nothing was seen but pension'd nurses,
 And the land groaned with bibs and tuckers.

But.....just when he
 Had reached the alarming age of three,
 When royal natures—and, no doubt,
 Those of *all* noble beasts—break out,
 The Lama, who till then was quiet,
 Showed symptoms of a taste for riot,.....

Tweak'd the Lord Chancellor by the nose,
 Turn'd all the Judges' wigs awry,
 And trod on the old General's toes—
 Pelted the Bishops with hot buns,
 Rode cock-horse on the city maces,
 And shot from little devilish guns
 Hard peas into his subjects' faces.

In short, such wicked pranks he played,
 And grew so mischievous (God bless him !)
 That his chief nurse—though with the aid
 Of an Archbishop—was afraid,
 When in these moods to comb or dress him ;
 And even the persons most inclined
 For kings, through thick and thin, to stickle,

Thought him (if they'd but speak their mind,
Which they did *not*), an odious pickle.

At length some patriot lords—a breed
Of animals they have in Thibet,”

—they said, in fact : *whip the Lama*.

“What, whip a Lama !—Suffer birch
To touch his sacred——infamous !
Deistical ! assailing thus
The fundamentals of the Church !”

But, whipped the Lama was ; and he,

“Like a hero bore it.
And though 'mong Thibet Tories some
Lament that Royal Martyrdom
(Please to observe the letter D
In this last word's pronounced like B),
Yet, to the example of that Prince
So much is Thibet's land a debtor,
'T is said, her little Lamas since
Have all behaved themselves *much* better.”

Now they even sign treaties with their own tormentors. So
much for kings, as tyrannical as the hateful former rout of
rebels ;

“that band of kings,
That royal ravening flock, whose vampire wings
O'er sleeping Europe treacherously brood,
And fan her into dreams of promised good
Of hope, of freedom—but to drain her blood !”

In lighter vein once more it is the world in general that is
denounced, for that it is filled with middle class tourists whose
talk is of money, if not of bullocks ; Philistines from his home
—in *Rhymes on the Road*, iv.

And is there then no earthly place
Where we can rest in dreams Elysian,
Without some cursed round English face
Popping up near, to break the vision ?
'Mid northern lakes, 'mid southern vines,
Unholy cits we're doomed to meet ;
Nor highest Alps, nor Appennines
Are sacred from Threadneedle-street !

If up the Simplon's path we wind,
Fancying we leave the world behind,
Such pleasant sounds salute one's ear

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

As—'Baddish news from 'Change, my dear—
The Funds—(pshaw, curse this ugly hill !)
Are lowering fast—(What ! higher still ?)—
And—zooks, we're mounting up to Heaven !)—
Will soon be down to sixty-seven.

Go where we may—rest where we will,
Eternal London haunts us still.

.....
And if this rage for travelling lasts,
If cockneys of all sects and castes,
Old maidens, aldermen and squires,
Will leave their puddings and coal fires,
To gape at things in foreign lands
No soul among them understands—
Why, then, farewell all hope to find
A spot that's free from London-kind !
Who knows, if to the *West* we roam,
But we may find some *Blue* 'at home'
Among the *Blacks* of Carolina—
Or, flying to the *Eastward*, see
Some MRS. HOPKINS taking tea
And toast upon the wall of China ?"

Over Europe, in 1819, year of the 'Manchester massacre' under Tory regime, went this old-fashioned denunciator of monarchs, in company with the Whig opposition leader, Lord John Russell, to Paris and Milan ; then as far as Venice to be with Byron ; then to Rome. It was in 1818 that his Fudge Family had gone abroad, when Paris "was swarming with groups of ridiculous English, of whose various forms of cockneyism and nonsense they represented the concentrated essence. Mr. Bob will—

"Strut to the old Cafe Hardy, which yet
Beats the field at a *déjeuner à la fourchette*.
There, Dick, what a breakfast !—oh, not like your ghost
Of a breakfast in England, your curst tea and toast ;
But a sideboard, you dog, where one's eye roves about,
Like a Turk's in the harem, and thence singles out
One's *pâté* of larks just to tune up the throat,
One's small limbs of chickens, done *en papillote*,
One's erudite outlets, drest all ways but plain,
Or one's kidney—imagine Dick—done with champagne !
Then some glasses of *Beaune*, to dilute—or, mayhap,
Chambertin, which you know's the pet tippie of Nap,
And which Dad, by the by, that legitimate stickler,
Much scruples to use, but *I'm* not so particular."

And Miss Biddy also is mightily pleased with herself and her France.

"I sit down to write you a line—only think !—
A letter from France with French pens and French ink,
How delightful ! though, would you believe it, my dear ?
I have seen nothing yet *very* wonderful here ;
No adventure, no sentiment, far as we've come,
But the corn fields and trees quite as dull as at home."

This from *Amiens*. Had Heine showed her his letter thence, Biddy Fudge's giggling would for once have mocked him:—"My dear. . . . , Men in those olden times had convictions, we moderns have only opinions; and something more than mere opinions is necessary to the erection of such a Gothic cathedral."

A lively change from a regicide's letter of gloomy reflection (anent

"the Grand Conspiracy of Kings,
Who
Against whole millions, panting to be free," etc.)

is her next letter from Paris. Miss Larolles in *Cecilia* should have lived on, to go with her.

"What a time since I wrote ! I'm a sad naughty girl—
Though like a teetotum, I'm all in a whirl.....
But, Lord, such a place ! And then, Dolly, my dresses,
My gowns, so divine !—there's no language expresses,
(Except just the *two* words 'superb', 'magnifique',)
The trimmings of that which I had home last week !
.....
In short, dear, I'm tricked out quite *à la française*,
With my bonnet—so beautiful !—high up and poking,
Like things that are put to keep chimneys from smoking.
Where *shall* I begin with the endless delights
Of this Eden of milliners, monkeys, and sights—
This dear busy place, where there's nothing transacting,
But dressing and dinnering, dancing and acting ?"

Nothing. '*Rien*', by the way, was down le 14 juillet 1789, in Louis XVI's diary. Nothing seemed to be going on; but in truth much. Were they not dancing in Paris four years ago? wrote Xavier de Maistre under the Terror. And Mr. Bob Fudge notes how, in Restoration fashions for males,

"The collar sticks out from the neck such a space,
That you'd swear 'twas the plan of this head-lobbing nation,
To leave there behind them a snug-like place
For the head to drop into, on decapitation."

Moore, however, will not always go moralizing : " the most French of them all," he is, Taine says, speaking of the poets of a century ago in England ; he has some of that art of being

without hardness sage,
And gay without frivolity.

He is indeed *gai* more than gay ; and *spirituel, amiable, bon*—the more one thinks, the more the untranslatable French words fit him. Add *franc*, too, and *loyal*.

Poor Miss Fudge had now a great adventure. The incognito was, she judged, a king ; and he asked her to dance—

"A fine, sallow, sublime, sort of Werter-faced man,
With mustachios that gave (what we read of so oft)
The dear Corsair expression, half savage, half soft,
As hyaenas in love may be fancied to look, or
A something between Abelard and old Blucher."

No king he was. But, then, sure, a colonel. Not so ; he, a linendraper's assistant. The young woman fainted at the discovery. What now of their dear sentimental talks à la Rousseau ; when 'Colonel Calicot' quoted this sweet tale of *la Nouvelle Héloïse* ?

"Un, jour qu'il gélait très fort, en ouvrant un paquet qu'elle m'envoyait, je trouvai un petit jupon de flanelle d'Angleterre, qu'elle me marquait avoir porté, et dont elle voulait que je me fisse faire un gilet. Ce soin, plus qu'amical, me parut si tendre, come (*sic*) si elle se fût dépoüillé pour me vêtir, que dans mon émotion, je baisai vingt fois, en plurant, le billet et le jupon."

Or, as Fudge verse has translated it, awaiting punctuation by Mr. Burchell's ghost :—

" 'T was here he received from the fair D'Epinay
.....That dear flannel petticoat, pull'd off to form
A waistcoat to keep the enthusiast warm."

One more literary explosion is in Mr. Fudge's journal, addressed to Lord Castlereagh :

"Went to the mad house—saw the man
Who thinks, poor wretch, that, while the Fiend
Of Discord here full riot ran,
He, like the rest, was guillotined ;—
But that when, under Boney's reign
(A more discreet, though quite as strong one),

The heads were all restored again,
 He in the scramble got a *wrong one*.
 Accordingly, he still cries out
 This strange head fits him most unpleasantly ;
 And always runs, poor devil, about,
 Inquiring for his own incessantly.

While to his case a tear I dropp'd,
 And sauntered home, thought I—ye gods !
 How many heads might thus be swopp'd,
 And, after all, not make much odds.

.....
 'T was thus I pondered on, my Lord ;
 And even at night, when laid in bed,
 I found myself, before I snored,
 Thus chopping, swopping, head for head.
 At length, I thought, fantastic elf !
 How such a change would suit *myself*.
 'Twixt sleep and waking, one by one,
 With various pericraniums saddled,
 At last I tried your lordship's on,
 And then I grew completely addled—
 Forgot all other heads, od rot 'em !
 And slept, and dreamt that I was—Borrom !"

As in *Rhymes for the Road*, as in *Lalla Rookh*, so here, the political squibs soon burst out of Moore's head. He laughs at the mixed figures of speech, this great briber for the Union, in Lord Castlereagh, his *bete noir*—who actually had said : "And now, sir, I must embark into the feature on which the question chiefly hinges," and make him say :

"The throne was turned quite topsy turvy ;
 And kingship, tumbled from its seat,
 Stood prostrate at the people's feet."

Irish oratory—Lord Castlereagh too was Irish—abounds with such startling peculiarities ; Moore notes ; quoting one brave Councillor who described some hypocritical pretender to charity : "He put his hand in his breeches pocket like a crocodile ; and——" Sure this may be showing the wealth that is in our wit ; if, as Ruskin the Saxon suggested, the whole Anglo-Irish difficulty grows out of the attempt of a stupid nation to rule a clever one.

The Fudge Family correspondence does not forget Ireland another way ; and Phelim Connor's letters again speak Moore's patriotism, always ready to denounce oppressors, especially those of his native country.

But was he justifying his own absence from Ireland—that Ireland where the very city man who picked up his umbrella for him on the pier threw his arms round this welcome exile's neck, exclaiming, "my sweet fellow ;—when, from an English home, he guided an exiled Irish Catholic's pen to declare,

" 'Return' ! no, never, while this withering hand
Of bigot power is on that hapless land ;
While for the faith my fathers held to God,
Even in the fields where free those fathers trod,
I am proscribed.

.....

On all I love—home, parents, friends—I trace
The mournful mark of bondage and disgrace."

Readers must go to the Family Chronicler's own prose letters for more of that same.

But time, the only teacher, transmutes the drossy style of Miss Fudge ; as, in the golden world of manners, even Celi-mène looked for the all-potent years to make her as Arsinoë. The Fudges are in England :—

"Who d'ye think we've got here ? quite reform'd, the giddy
Fantastic young thing that once made such a noise—
Why, the famous Miss Fudge—that delectable Biddy
Whom you and I saw once at Paris, when boys,
In the full blaze of bonnets, and ribbons, and airs—
Such a thing as no rainbow hath colours to paint ;
Ere time had reduced her to wrinkles and prayers.

.....

Monstrously busy"—she herself has said it—

"With godly concernments—and worldly ones too ;
Things carnal and spiritual mixed."

With Miss Gimp she has sweet converse, and

"You can't think how nicely the caps of tulle lace,
How nicely they look on this poor sinful face.
And I mean, if the Lord in his mercy thinks right,
To wear one at Mrs. Fitzwigram's to-night.
The silks are quite heavenly,—I'm glad, too, to say,
Gimp herself grows more godly and good every day ;
Hath had sweet experience—yea, ev'n doth begin
To turn from the Gentiles, and put away sin—
And all since her last stock of goods was laid in.

What a blessing one's milliner, careless of pelf,
Should thus 'walk in newness,' as well as one's self."

And her footman,

"At preaching a sermon off-hand, was the aptest.....
 All heard with delight his reprovings of sin,
 But, above all, the cook-maid :—oh, ne'er would she tire—
 Though in learning to save sinful souls from the fire
 She would oft let the soles she was frying fall in.

(God forgive me for punning on points thus of society !
 A sad trick I've learned in Bob's heathen society.)*

Meantime her niece commenced author. But

"Though an angel should write, still 't is *devils* must print ;
 And you can't think what havoc these demons sometimes
 Choose to make of one's sense, and what's worse, of one's rhymes.

But a week or two since, in my Ode upon Spring,
 Which I meant to have made a most beautiful thing,
 Where I talk'd of the 'dew-drops from freshly-blown roses,'
 The nasty things made it 'from freshly-blown noses.'

Here Moore is hardly crypto-critic of the dangers of his sentimental self. He, like his Lesbia, hath a beaming eye,—and a dropping. 'T is when the fit of the latter is coming on, that, generally, we are called to see his verses. Yet, after *Paradise and the Peri* itself, he relates : "And this," said the great Chamberlain, "is poetry ! this flowing manufacture of the brain, which in comparison with the lofty and durable monuments of genius, is as the gold filagree-work of Zamara

*That heavy preaching puppet of the Dublin statue is indeed truly not this lively Moore we are listening to. But even the austere Oxford preacher, 'subtle and mournful,' was himself then writing—well-bred man of the world as he was—on that day's fashion of pietism :

"There is a mistaken notion sometimes entertained, that the world is some particular set of persons, and that to shun the world is to shun them ; as if we could point out, as it were, with the finger, what is the world, and thus could easily rid ourselves of one of our great enemies. Men who are beset with this notion are often great lovers of the world, notwithstanding, while they think themselves at a distance from it altogether. They love its pleasures and they yield to its principles, yet they speak strongly against men of the world, and avoid them. They act the part of superstitious people, who are afraid of seeing evil spirits in what are considered haunted places, while these spirits are busy at their hearts instead, and they do not suspect it.....

How vain the attempt is (which some make) of separating the world from the Church. If we look through mankind in order to find out who make up the world, and who do not, we shall find none who are not exposed to infirmity. So that if to shun the world is to shun some body of men so-called, we must shun all men, nay, ourselves too—which is a conclusion which means nothing at all.....

Look not about for the world as some vast and gigantic evil far off—its temptations are close to you, apt and ready, suddenly offered and subtle in their address. Try to bring down the words of Scripture to common life, and to recognize the evil in which this world lies in your own hearts." (Newman's Oxford sermon on "The World our Enemy.")

beside the eternal architecture of Egypt." "The lax and easy kind of metre in which it was written ought to be denounced," "as one of the leading causes of the alarming growth of poetry in our times." And the intolerant Fadladeen now talks sense ; even though we are reminded that he is little versed in beauties or sublimities of poetry. Still, it is impossible not to think of 'Oh, the power of a preconceived opinion!' when Professor Herford (*The Age of Wordsworth*, p. 203) writes :

"In 1819 Moore paid a memorable visit to Byron at Venice, composing, as he travelled, his *Rhymes on the Road*—dreary efforts of a drawing-room poet to capture the poetry of Nature. Byron's famous 'D—n it, Tom, don't be poetical!' pronounced as they stood watching a Venetian sunset, has merit as criticism." Did this critic to-day really think of more than the first 'Rhyme,' or perhaps merely its opening? There is little about the poetry of nature in the other 'Rhymes.'

And if this is an instance of how carelessly critics lead their trusting public, it is also an instance of the too ready judgment on Moore, as altogether the popular society writer of unreal sentiment in regard to man and to nature. And this from a critic who knows, and who has passed other judgments.

In these *Rhymes on the Road* the subjects are of such public or private human interest as the fall of Venice ; justly fallen, the satirist declares, denouncing the cruelty and tyranny of that old Republic.

"Thy Oligarchy's Book of Gold,
Shut against humble Virtue's name,.....

Thy all-pervading host of spies,
Watching o'er every glance and breath,
Till men look'd in each other's eyes,
To read their chance of life and death,—
Thy laws, that made a mart of blood,
And legalized the assassin's knife—
Thy sunless cells beneath the flood.....

When I reviewed all this,.....
I,

Smiling o'er the wreck repeat—
'Thus perish every king and state,
That tread the steps which Venice trod,
Strong, but in fear, and only great
By outrage against man and God!'

Then, again, another 'Extract' has the public matter of Rienzi's conspiracy and insurrection in Rome of the 14th century, the subject of Lytton's story.

Then, the English tourist is saluted, not (as is seen below) in a manner befitting that very pink of politeness, "a drawing-room poet." Nor would the Poet of Nature recognize much effort here to capture nature or her poetry. The first *Rhyme* is the only one which has the familiar Wordsworthian thought, of the power over feeling and life that there is in recalling beauty that is gone. Unless we find such in the last *Rhyme's* thought that one could be poetical where Rousseau lived, if only Rousseau had never been there, "brightest—worst—sublimest—meanest in creation !" Mrs. Malaprop in her most Puritan mood could hardly find a superstitious article of sentiment in this 'Extract' ; though it is patent that the knowledge of its personages don't become a young woman :

"About a century since (or near)
A middle-aged Madame lived here,
With character even worse than most
Such middle-aged Madames can boast.
Her footman was—to gloss it over
With the most gentle term—her lover ;
Nor yet so jealous of the truth
And charms of this impartial fair,
As to deny a pauper youth
(Who joined their snug *ménage*) his share.
And there they lived, this precious three,
With just as little sense or notion
Of what the world calls decency,
As hath the sea-calf in the ocean."

His own 'Anacreon,' the *Edinburgh Review* thought fit for the "stews," while to the translator the original was "sportive without being wanton, and ardent without being licentious.' And Tom Little, too, had had a vein of ready flowing verse, not the satire direct, yet not sentimental ; not moral, Jeffrey said ; and certainly unmoral :

"Bring me the nymph with floating eye,
Oh ! she will teach me how to die."
"Thy last fading glance will illumine the way,
And a kiss be our passport to Heaven."
.....
"Bacchus shall bid my winter bloom,

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.

And Venus dance me to the tomb."

.....

"My inglorious placid soul
Breathes not a wish beyond the bowl."

These are the loves and deaths of Charles Lamb's Chinese on cups, "lawless, azure-tinctured, grotesques," or of posing suicide Japs, on screens, before we took them for solid fighters. And if Anacreon was flighty, Thomas Moore was steady ; and it was merely Tom Little who to Mrs. Moore, and other women, said that they

"were only materials for pleasure ;
And reason and thinking were out of your sphere."

In his own person this happy husband wrote, "Believe me if all those endearing young charms . . . were to fade ;" and wrote more, too, concerning

"Calm-wedded affection, that home-rooted plant,
Which sweetens seclusion, and smiles in the shade ;"

forgetting l'âme mal née de Little, and

"Where I love, I must not marry,
Where I marry, cannot love."

However, if readers find it necessary here to consult Southey's contemporary *Doctor*, of a hostile school, he prescribes thus :—"Would you know whether the tendency of a book is good or evil, examine in what state of mind you lay it down. If it induces you to suspect that what you have been accustomed to think unlawful may after all be innocent, and that may be harmless which you have hitherto been taught to think dangerous ; . . . if so, . . . throw the book into the fire, whatever name it may bear upon the title page. Throw it into the fire, young man ! Young lady, away with the whole set, although it should be the prominent feature in a rosewood book case !"

But the *Rhymes on the Road* themselves pull us away from "all the mire and strife and vanities" of Rousseau-ish life, "with high-built genius cursed" :—

"T is too absurd—'t is weakness, shame,
This low prostration before Fame—
This casting down beneath the car
Of Idols, whatsoe'er they are,

Life's purest, holiest decencies,
To be career'd o'er as they please.

.....
Strange power of Genius that can throw
O'er all that's vicious, weak and low,
Such magic lights, such rainbow dyes,
As dazzle even the steadiest eyes."

And our poet, on 'My Birthday,' tells of

"Time.....
Lavish'd unwisely, carelessly—
Of counsel mock'd—of talents, made
Haply for high and pure designs,
But oft, like Israel's incense, laid
Upon unholy, earthly shrines—
Of nursing many a wrong desire—
Of wandering after Love too far,
And taking every meteor fire
That crossed my pathway for his star !
.....Could I trace
The imperfect picture o'er again,
.....

How little of the past would stay !
How quickly all should melt away—
All—but that freedom of the mind
Which hath been more than wealth to me :
Those friendships in my boyhood twined,
And kept till now unchangingly.
And that dear home, that saving ark,
Where Love's true Light at last I've found,
Cheering within when all grows dark,
And comfortless, and stormy round."

Anyway, to be really master of himself, a man must have other handles to his mind and his soul than his poets; whether their's are the heavenly lays of Truth, or, what is nearer Truth than much of his sentiment, Thomas Moore's common sense, not without wit.

W. F. P. STOCKLEY, Halifax.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE CASE OF LOUIS RIEL.

(Continued from April number.)

A POSTPONEMENT for a short time was granted. Twenty-seven witnesses were examined, including several so-called experts. Some of the evidence brought out at the trial has already been given ; much is omitted as not being necessary in this study, but the prosecutor, Mr. B. B. Osler, employed all his subtlety and art to bring about conviction, while the Honourable Mr. Fitzpatrick defended the prisoner with his well-known ability. Perhaps, as trials go, that of Louis Riel was as fair as those generally accorded men whose defence is insanity, but public feeling was far too intense to permit of evidence for the accused having the slightest weight. The medical testimony of Drs. Roy and Clark was unanswerable, logical and conclusive regarding Riel's mental condition, that for the prosecution simply negative and evasive. Dr. Wallace merely took the ground that during an examination of half an hour he had discovered no sign of insanity in the prisoner. Dr. Jupes stated that he had seen no evidence of insanity in the prisoner, but admitted that he had never made an examination of him in regard to his mental condition. The medical testimony for the prosecution was valueless, that for the defence might have been greatly strengthened if time and proper preparation had been given.

If the political situation had not been so acute, possibly a dignified and properly qualified commission might have been appointed to examine the prisoner carefully and at leisure, although, I must confess, my opinion of Canadian legal methods, where the question of insanity is involved, are not of an optimistic character.

Dr. Clark's notes of his examination of Riel make interesting reading.

"On July 28th, 1885, the writer made a first visit to Riel " in the prison at Regina, Northwest Territory. He was

“found to be a stoutly built man and of splendid physique.
“He was in good health, about forty-two years of age. He
“had a swarthy complexion and black eyes of great brilliancy,
“restless and searching. His movements were nervous,
“energetic and expressive, as are so characteristic of the
“French. This was evidently a normal condition, and not
“from apprehension as to his fate. He was very talkative,
“and his egotism made itself manifest, not only in his move-
“ments, but also in his expressed pleasure in being the central
“figure of a State trial, which was likely to become historic.
“The writer stated to him that his lawyers were trying to save
“his life by proving that he had been insane. At this state-
“ment he got very much excited, and paced up and down his
“cell like a chained animal until his irons rattled, saying with
“great vehemence and gesticulation, ‘My lawyers do wrong
“to try to prove I am insane. I scorn to put in that plea. I,
“the leader of my people, the center of a national movement,
“a priest and prophet, to be proved to be an idiot. As a
“prophet I know beforehand the jury will acquit me. They
“will not ignore my rights. I was put in Longue Point and
“Beauport asylums by my persecutors, and was arrested with-
“out cause when discharging my duty. The Lord delivered
“me out of their hands.’

“I questioned him very closely as to his plans in the past,
“but he did not seem to be communicative on these points.
“He said he would insist on examining the witnesses himself.
“He did not feel disposed to allow his lawyers to do it for him,
“if they were determined to try to prove he was insane. During
“the trial he made several attempts to take the case into his
“own hands, as in the questioning of witnesses his importance
“seemed to be ignored by his counsel. I asked him if he
“thought he could elicit more on his own behalf than men
“expert in law could. He proudly said : ‘I will show you as
“the case develops.’ He walked about a good deal as he
“talked, at the same time putting on his hat and taking it off
“in a nervous way. His fidgety way, his swagger, his ego-
“tistic attitudes, his evident delight at such a trying hour in
“being so conspicuous a personage, impressed me very

“strongly as being so like the insane with delusions of greatness, whether paretics or not. A hundred and one little things in appearance, movement and conversation, which cannot be described in writing, are matters of every-day observation by asylum medical officers. I may say they are almost intuitions in this respect. Such knowledge as this, which we acquire by every day acquaintance of the insane, would be laughed out of court by the legal profession, who can not discern any valid evidence that does not tally with a metaphysical and obsolete definition.”

“It was evident to me that Riel was concealing to some extent the inner workings of his mind, and that he had an object in view in hiding his thoughts. I endeavoured to make him angry by speaking contemptuously of his pretensions. He only shrugged his shoulders and gave me a smile of pity at my ignorance. I touched upon his selfishness in asking \$35,000 from the government, and on receipt of it to cease agitation. He smiled at my charge, and said that the money had been promised to him and was due to him. Had he received it he would have established a newspaper to advocate the rights of his kindred. It would have been a glorious work for him to be able to control a newspaper, and to promulgate in print his mission to the world.

“Dr. Roy and myself had a second examination of Riel at the Police Barracks on the evening of the 28th of July. He was closely catechized by Dr. Roy in French, and by me in English. The insanity plea was abhorrent to him, and he scorned to take that ground, even to save his life. Friends and foes were convinced of his honesty and candour in his repudiation of this defence. He would rather die as a delirer than live as a lunatic.”

I had a third visit alone with Riel, in his cell, on the 29th of July. He was very much excited and paced his narrow enclosure like an enraged tiger would, yet in this mood he said nothing. I accused him of hiding his motives to his own hurt, and told him that his friends from Quebec could do nothing for him because of his obstinacy.

“Suddenly he calmed down and with great self-possession

“ said: ‘His legal friends had mistaken his mission. At
“ present he was an important State prisoner, and he was
“ suffering, not only for himself, but also for others.’ He
“ also told me that he wrote a book, which was still in exist-
“ ence. In it he clearly proved that he was a great prophet,
“ and as a prophet he knew beforehand that a verdict would
“ be given in his favour. I closely questioned him as to why
“ he thought so, but his only reply was in putting his hand
“ to his heart and saying pathetically, ‘It is revealed to me.’ I
“ informed him that there was a bitter feeling hostile to him
“ outside, and that so far the evidence was strongly against
“ him and that he would probably be hanged as a felon. He
“ smiled cynically at my ignorance, but the alternative did not
“ seem to affect him. I told him the feeling had not subsided
“ for the murder of Scott in 1870. In reply he said the North-
“ west Council sentenced Scott to death for treason. He was
“ only one of thirteen. He suddenly broke away from this
“ subject and began to pour out a torrent of vigorous language
“ on the head of Dr. Schultz, of Winnipeg, whom he associ-
“ ated in some way with Scott and the rebellion of 1870.
“ Before I left he came back to the fulcrum idea that he was
“ yet to be a great political and religious leader, who would
“ revolutionize the world.

“ These were the notes I took at the time. To me they
“ were significant, but as legal evidence they would be con-
“ sidered of little value.”

Riel's behaviour during and after the trial was perfectly consistent. When he was told by Mr. Greenshields that a defence of insanity was being set up, his feeling of indignation was so great that he would have assaulted his informant if he had not been restrained, in fact he became furious, regarding such a defence as an insult of the most annoying character. He was determined to take a prominent part in his defence, and in every way possible to discredit those who wished to prove him insane. Any attempt made to show that he was a malinger must at once fall to the ground.

Riel acted at all times consistently, but insanely, and just as his delusions of grandeur called upon him to do. What

more insane productions could we find anywhere than his addresses to the jury before and after the verdict, and his delight at having been proved sane and responsible was evidently genuine and sincere. It has been said that the concluding words of his last speech showed a disposition to shift his ground and a willingness to save his life by availing himself of the plea of insanity. I think not, although such a contention is not in the slightest degree inconsistent with marked alienation.

When one considers the mass of testimony pointing to Riel's mental defect, the undoubted history of insanity from boyhood, with the recurring paroxysms of intense excitement, he wonders that there could have been the slightest discussion regarding it. As a matter of fact it became simply a battle between race, religion and politics, in which the sanity or insanity of the unfortunate was discussed as something apart from the real issue at stake. When I read the Hon. Edward Blake's speech on the one side, or the Hon. John Thompson's on the other, I can discover little but the political issue as the guiding star of either orator, and as for the press reports—well, they are written not for the amount of truth they may contain, but the impression on the voters they may make. Here is a splendid example of the method of the partisan reporter. . . . :

"Riel has had another 'manifestation', consisting of entirely incoherent rubbish. Riel took advantage of the Rev. Mr. McWilliams' presence on Friday night to declare his divine mission. 'I am', said the prisoner, 'a prophet'; I have been ordained, not as a priest, but as the prophet of the Northwest, to preach a reformation to you and every minister of the church, and I will continue to fulfil my mission until I mount the scaffold.'"

While delivering himself of this little oration he paced his cell like an infuriated maniac. He thundered his anathemas on the policy and principles of the nineteenth century churches, gesticulating almost all the while. When he came to the word 'scaffold' he faced his visitors. With the veins of his throbbing temples distending with convulsions, he pointed towards the scaffold, and fixing his wild, haggard eyes on the Rev. Mr. McWilliams, he continued: "To that scaffold will I walk

boldly, preaching this mission of church reformation so much needed throughout the world !”

When the hour for facing death came Riel showed at least that the incoherent rubbish described by the glib reporter was anything but rubbish to him, and he did what he said he should do.

Sir John Thompson had little faith in the insanity of the man who was willing to be bought for \$35,000, and this was considered an unanswerable argument, a proof positive of sanity. How little he knew of the insane, and he sympathized but little with those afflicted with insanity. If the \$35,000 had been paid, my impression is that Riel would simply have applied it, as he afterward said he would have done, to the furtherance of his insane mission. That he should have endeavoured to save his skin by escaping from the consequences of the first rebellion is also brought forward as an argument in favour of responsibility.

To those of us familiar with the many phases of mental defect and disease there was nothing extraordinary in that. Before discussing some of these points from the medical standpoint, I must first refer to the report of the special Commission appointed to examine Riel with regard to his insanity. It was purely political and a sop to a certain part of the public ; no matter what its report had been, the result would have been the same, and there is ample reason to believe that its first report never reached the public. This Commission consisted of Dr. Jukes, surgeon to the Mounted Police at Regina ; Dr. Valade, a chemist ; and Dr. Michael Lavell, surgeon to the Kingston Penitentiary.

Dr. Jukes admitted, during cross-examination at the trial, that his knowledge of insanity was nil ; indeed the worst case of paranoia insanity (a second Messiah) I have ever known was under Dr. Jukes' observation for several years without his suspecting the mental defect.

Dr. Valade could certainly not claim any special qualification for the work selected ; and Dr. Michael Lavell, whose routine duty brought him in contact with a few insane criminals in the penitentiary, never professed to believe that insane murderers should not be punished and hanged.

We were warm friends and discussed Riel many times, but could never reach common ground regarding the treatment of such people. I may modestly admit, though, Dr. Lavell was invariably willing to be guided by my judgment in such matters, feeling that his experience with the insane had not been wide enough to justify him in being too positive, and his mistaken pronouncement in the Michael Lee case was ever present in his mind. He thought Riel a fanatic on religious matters, but a shrewd and crafty schemer, who was quite willing to play the part of a malingerer, if necessary, to escape the gallows.

However, it is a matter of interest to examine these reports :—

The first was from Dr. Jukes's and reads as follows : "Louis Riel has been under my special care medically, as surgeon of this force, for upwards of five months—since his arrival here as a prisoner. During that time I have visited him, with few exceptions, every day ; have studied him closely and conversed with him long and frequently. I have personally a strong aversion to punishment by death. I believe that failing to establish his insanity his death is near at hand, but, after careful and continuous examination of him under varying circumstances from day to day, I cannot escape the conviction that, *except upon purely religious questions having relation to what may be called the Divine Mysteries*, he was when first entrusted to my care, and still continues to be, perfectly sane and accountable for his actions. Under these circumstances my duty, though a painful one, is clear, and my opinion, not hastily formed, equally so, namely, that Riel's peculiar views upon religious subjects, which so strongly impress the ignorant and unreflecting with an idea of his madness, cannot rightly be regarded as interfering with, or obscuring in the slightest degree, his clear perception of duty, or as rendering his judgment less sound in the affairs of every day life. I therefore record my opinion that, with the reservation above made, Riel is a sane, clear-headed and accountable being, and responsible for his actions before God and man.

"A. JUKES, *Senior Surgeon.*"

Dr. Lavell's report reads :—"I have the honour to report that having given conscientious consideration to the case of Louis David Riel, now confined here under sentence of death, and fully appreciating the trust committed to me and the consequences involved, I am of the opinion that the said Louis David Riel, although holding and expressing foolish and peculiar views as to religion and general government, is an accountable being and capable of distinguishing right from wrong.

"M. LAVELL, M.D."

Dr. Valade's report reads :—"After having examined carefully Riel in private conversation with him, and by testimony of persons who took care of him, I have come to the conclusion that he suffers under a hallucination on politics and religious subjects, but on other points I believe him to be quite sensible and able to distinguish right from wrong.

F. X. VALADE, M.D."

Here are three certificates from men who made no claim to being specialists in mental disease, and yet all freely admit that Riel was insane upon *religious* and *political subjects*, but able to distinguish *right* from *wrong*. These reports bear the impress of conscientious study, and what do they reveal to the alienist? Simply the confirmation of all that was affirmed by Drs. Roy, Clark, and other witnesses. I have heard much about the people who are insane on one or two subjects only, but I have never seen them. Disordered mental action manifests itself in no narrow grooves, although some particular fixed delusions or hallucinations may be prominently displayed on most occasions; and it was the promptings of such delusions and hallucinations which were the mainspring of Riel's actions. To the very last moment of his life they governed every thought. It is nonsense to talk about the ability of the insane to distinguish right from wrong as a test of mental capacity. The veriest tyro in hospital experience will tell you that nearly every insane patient who is not in a condition of the deepest dementia or stupor can furnish you with the most satisfactory definitions, although when it comes to governing his actions he will do so simply from the determination of what is right and wrong from his point of view. Was not that just what

Riel did? so far as we can judge of any insane man's point of view. Possibly we should not attach too much blame to the Cabinet Ministers who allowed Riel to go to the scaffold in spite of a recommendation of mercy from the jury and the very suggestive certificates of the medical commission, because political necessity demanded the sacrifice of one who had certainly been the cause of bloodshed and turmoil on two occasions, and whose influence was paramount with the Metis and certain sections of the French Canadian public. Of course during the heat of partisan strife it is almost too much to expect calm judgments, and in a country as crude as Canada is, when the subject of responsibility in mental disease is under consideration, it is not surprising that Riel's judicial murder was hailed with satisfaction by a very large proportion of the community. Those who regretted his death, as a rule, were swayed by sentiments in which the insanity question played a very unimportant part. While alienists are of the opinion that such a fire-brand, as Riel undoubtedly was, should have been kept shut up from society as long as he lived, they are quite willing to admit the difficulties in the way of the practical politicians who showed lamentable unfairness when asked to allow a post mortem to be held and a proper examination of the brain made.

Sir John Thompson's speech, defending the execution of Riel, was a piece of special pleading worthy of a great politician, but, as Dr. Ireland says, showing considerable ignorance of the lore of insanity. One cannot help sympathizing, too, with Canadians who bitterly resented the rebellions in the North-West, the loss of life and property and the horror of the Indian massacres; still all this must be kept in the background when making an estimate of the mental soundness of Louis Riel. To the alienist the case presents nothing strange, and when one regards the unique social conditions surrounding this remarkable man, there is nothing more wonderful in the influence he exerted over the ignorant Metis than that by which poor insane Joan of Arc accomplished wonders for a brief period. Riel was simply a case of evolutionary insanity, which would in the modern school no doubt be classed as one of the paranoic forms of dementia. The first manifestations as were to be expected were observed when he was at a critical

period of his boyhood, and even then the egotism, which is so characteristic of the paranoic, was apparent.

The delusions which were prominent in after life during paroxysms of excitement were already taking shape. His early associations were of such a nature as to turn his mind to the wrongs of his people and develop the religious fanaticism so prominent at all times in his career. Persecution is invariably the accompaniment of the paranoiac delusion, and nowhere have I seen such intense cases of this form of insanity develop as on the lonely prairies of the North-West, and they have all been of the very same type as Riel. We cannot exclude heredity and environment in the evolution of such cases. Everything seemed to conspire to make Riel just what he was. Among a well educated people his mental defect would, early in the day, have led to his confinement in an institution, but among the ignorant Metis, suffering from wrongs they thought unbearable, Riel, with his education, prophetic and inspired pretensions, naturally became a leader. It is remarkable, though, that some men of education and good parts should have associated themselves with him in the first rebellion, and in the hare-brained scheme of establishing a provisional government. Riel's swash-buckling, autocratic behaviour even then was certainly inconsistent with common sense, his fantastic performances with Major Boulton, the cruel murder of Scott, were strongly suggestive of an unbalanced mind; and the pity is that political exigency interfered to prevent this mental weakling being put under lock and key at that time. Even then the unsafe character of the man must have been thoroughly understood, and his mental defect suspected. Those of us familiar with paranoia do not for one moment think that nineteen months' residence in Longue Pointe and Beauport in 1876 resulted in a cure, but no doubt there was a favourable remission, and a lapse into a condition of comparative quiet, such as we are accustomed to see every day. Take many such people away from excitement and surroundings which are likely to upset their equilibrium and they get along without trouble, unless ill-health should again stir up the slumbering fires. If Riel could have been left quiet in the Jesuit school in Montana the chances are that he would never again have been heard of, as

in the monotony of that hum-drum life there was enough to keep his mind employed in safe directions, and there was no incentive to let his delusions and hallucinations carry him and others to destruction. It was certainly in an evil hour Dumont and his associates planned their visit to Montana. Even when Riel returned to the north from Montana he had a certain amount of self-control, but, as was to be expected, when any great strain was encountered the mental balance was upset. What a common experience that is in the every day observations of alienists. There are many patients under my care leading quiet and useful lives, giving little or no trouble to any one. Turn them out in the world where they are submitted to mental strain, exposed to conditions where the emotional side of their natures is stirred up, and in a very few days they are simply transformed. Sometimes a residence of twenty-four hours will accomplish the transition from Dr. Jekyll to Mr. Hyde. Before the Duck Lake fight Riel was a mental weakling; after that event a maniacal paranoiac beyond the reach of human control, useless as a leader, and a menace to the lives of friends and foes alike. The contention that he was posing simply to excite his countrymen who believed in his inspiration to carry on the rebellion is without force. The successful charlatan is built on very different lines from Louis Riel; his mission was no trumped-up affair to him, and his consistency was the consistency of the insane enthusiast. What of it if he did resort to trickery, deception and intrigue at times, surely insanity has not the monopoly of these things.

Human nature inside of the walls of an institution for the insane is strikingly like human nature outside of them, with perhaps the exception that occasionally we see some phases of it with the mask thrown off. It is human action based on the promptings of a mind diseased that we must study in Riel's case, difficult as the problem is.

Riel's divine mission was not without its pathetic side, the insane prophet struggling to aid his persecuted followers and to establish a kingdom as chimerical as Utopia. His protest against the insanity plea was not a piece of acting, but an impassioned appeal against what he considered outrage and insult, and his behaviour until the last moment of his life was con-

sistent, dignified and brave. His speeches at the trial are interesting chapters in paranoiac literature, and his diary containing his prophecies and revelations is described by those who attempted to read it as a jumble of nonsense. Here is a quotation :

“The Spirit of God said to me ‘The enemy has gone to Prince Albert.’ I prayed, saying ‘Deign to make me know who is that enemy.’ He answered ‘Charlie Larence.’ The Spirit of God has shown me the place where I should be wounded, the highest joint of the ring finger, pointing to this place with his finger. The Spirit has said ‘In this place I think you will be wounded.’” I have seen a paper written in French, which began in these terms :

“Do you know some one called Charlie Larence. He wants to drink five gallons in the name of the movement. The Spirit of God has made us understand that we must bind the prisoners. I have seen Gabriel Dumont ; he was afflicted, ashamed ; he did not look at me, he looked at his empty table. But Gabriel Dumont is blessed, his faith will not totter. He is fired by the grace of God. His hope and his trust in God will be justified ; he will come out of the struggle charged with the booty of his enemies. Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary will make him again joyful. My ideas are just, well weighed, well defined ; mourning is not in my thoughts. My ideas are level with my gun ; my gun is standing. It is the invisible power of God which keeps my gun erect. Oh, my God, give me grace to establish the day of your rest, to bring back in honour the Sabbath day as it was fixed by the Holy Spirit in the person of Moses, your servant.”

What alienist of experience could care to assume that a paranoiac, such as Riel undoubtedly was, could be adjudged responsible, and if to us his hanging seems like judicial murder, not to be defended on any ground, we must remember that there were two factors at work which have done duty many a time in the history of the world : first, what has been referred to before, political exigency ; second, absolute ignorance, shall we say, supplemented by indifference, to the exact mental status of the unfortunate rebel.

I have been told time and again by highly educated men that it is best to hang our insane criminals first and discuss them afterwards. It is not so long ago that this comfortable doctrine was applied to the witches, and yet we have outlived that phase of ignorance, and possibly when our criminal laws are so amended that we can claim to be abreast of the times, a calm and dispassionate examination of criminals who may be insane by men qualified to give competent opinions will be substituted for these so-called expert battles between rival lawyers and rival doctors.

C. K. CLARKE, M.D.

THE PROBLEM OF JOB.

MUCH has been made by recent writers of the relation which the Book of Job bears to the life of the Jewish people. The nation might well see its own struggles and disappointments, its doubts and fears, reflected in the suffering and perplexed Job. There can perhaps be no doubt that it was intended to see itself mirrored there.

But the Book of Job cannot rightly be regarded as simply a parable for post-exilic Jews. It is more than a page out of the book of Israel's life. It is rather a page out of the book of human life. Because a universal book, all men's book, it has its lesson not only for Israel but for all to whom the fact of seeming injustices in a world, which believers in a personal God must believe to be a moral world, confronts with perplexing questions.

The whole atmosphere of the book makes evident its universal meaning. The hero is not a Jew. He is a patriarch of the far-eastern birth-place of the Semitic peoples. His life is lived remote from the busy scenes of traffic, politics and war. He is not ignorant of these, but he knows of them afar off, as one whose knowledge is gathered from the caravans that pass his dwelling. The world he is intimate with at first hand is the world of nature. The wide horizons of the desert, the courses of the stars, the radiant mornings and the still evenings, the simple ways and simpler laws of a time long past, are the world he knows. It is a free, untrammelled life he leads. He counts his possessions in flocks and herds. The life of men is an open book before him. Good and evil in men are easily discerned. The lines of character are drawn in black and white. There are no neutral tints. Judgment is administered in the gate. Few witnesses are called and justice does not hang fire.

His God is not the God of the Jews. He has no temple, save the blue vault of heaven. His sacrifices are the simple offerings of the older time. God speaks to him in the wind—a Presence passes by him. God speaks to him as he spoke to the shepherd Amos, out of the myriad voice of nature.

We conclude that if the author was a Jew, he was a travelled Jew, a citizen of a wider world than Palestine. If his genius is to have a parallel among the Old Testament writers, that parallel is to be found more in the writings of the 2nd Isaiah and Amos than in others. He may be compared to the former in culture and breadth of view; to the latter in directness, in his feeling for nature, in his downright hold on facts. He has drunk his knowledge deep from many sources, and has made it all his own. He belongs to humanity, as Shakespeare and Beethoven belong. In the same sense in which Hamlet may be called English, and the Moonlight Sonata German, the book of Job may be called Jewish. "A noble book," wrote Carlyle, "all men's book—oldest choral melody as of the heart of mankind; so soft and great; as the summer midnight, as the world with its seas and its stars"—

It is this very greatness of the book that renders difficult the attempt to subject it to any simple and definite analysis. We must not too easily try to pluck the heart out of Job's mystery any more than Hamlet's. Life is greater than any problem, and the book of Job is a page out of life's book. The variety of conclusions in regard to the aim and lesson of the book, which represent the painstaking work of a host of scholars, is ample witness to this fact.

We are not left, however, in entire darkness. Some things are certain even to the least learned of readers. It is clear that the problem which vexes the soul of the writer is the ever-present problem of suffering, and that problem as it presents itself to one whose outlook on the world is theistic, one who believes in an Almighty and Personal God. For the Buddhist, whose salvation must be worked out for himself with fear and trembling, for whom expectation of help from above is useless, since suffering can only cease with the drying up of the springs of desire, human suffering can present no problem. For the thorough-going Agnostic or Materialist there can be no problem. The void cannot intervene to right human wrongs; the blind force cannot be expected to have a care for moral anomalies. But the believer in one Omnipotent God, like men yet infinitely better than the best men, whose sphere of operation is all his worlds, and not least this world, must

necessarily find the moral disorders of life a trial for faith. One would expect such a God to be at least as good and just as man. One *must* expect him to be not *less* just, "all-powerful, all good," proclaims Faith. Then, all good and just as he is powerful must He be in this world of his making," answers Conscience. And when, instead of seeing goodness prosper and evil thwarted here, one sees goodness suffer and evil pampered, the problem necessarily arises: How can God be all powerful and all good as faith proclaims, and yet this world of his operation be so full of the cries of the martyred saints and the banqueting of knaves?

"No stirring of God's fingers to denote,
He wills that right should have supremacy
On earth, not wrong!"

It is fortunate that in the dimmer light of revelation accorded him the writer of Job faced this problem in its extremest form. The matter of second causes did not with him give rise to metaphysical counter-problems. God acted directly on life. He sent good; He sent evil; He did all things directly. If a man suffered, let him fear God; if he prospered, let him be thankful. The hand of God touched all the springs of earth. Nor did the probability of a future life carry the question beyond the bounds of the seen and temporal. The grave was the final act of the drama of life. No man cared to lift the curtain, fearful of the valley and the shadow beyond. It was here that God must act; here man must be blessed or cursed according as he had done well or ill. For Job it was a matter almost of faith's life or death whether the good man was rewarded here or was cast aside. And if, as was overwhelmingly borne in on him, the rewards given to men got twisted in their course to earth, and suffering proved to be too often the reward of God's faithful servant and prosperity not seldom dwelt on the tents of blasphemers, faith had her great battle to fight and her agonized petition to make.

The book of Job as it stands in our Bibles is composed of five parts.

There is a brief Prologue and briefer Epilogue, both written in prose. The Prologue tells in simple language of the wealth, the happiness and unaffected piety of Job, the greatest

of the sons of the east. It tells of the determination arrived at in the counsels of heaven to put the hero's piety to a severe test. It also recounts the several calamities that fell like lightning upon the saint, and of how, childless and stricken, he sits on the village ash-heap regarded with sorrowful and dignified wonder by his three friends who have come long distances to comfort him. The Epilogue concludes the piece with the conventional happy ending. Job is commended for having spoken that which is right concerning God, and the friends are rebuked.

Neither the Prologue nor the Epilogue treat of the problem, why in God's world the righteous suffer. It is in the poetical portion of the book that this problem gets its statement from the life of Job, while inadequate answers to it, the conventional answers of the theology of the day are rejected. A young man by the name of Elihu also contributes an answer, and the words of the Almighty from the whirlwind bring the poetical part of the book to a conclusion.

The poem proper begins with Job's passionate cry for death and reproachful query as to why life is given to the bitter in soul. Eliphaz, the eldest and most considerate of his friends, hastens to administer the consolations of the orthodox church of the day.

Eliphaz is strong in what Prof. James calls "the subliminal region." He has received Divine instruction in a mysterious communion with a spirit. He bases the truth of his remarks on this mystic experience. He says a great deal that is wise and beautiful, and all in the kindest way, but the gist of it is this :

"Affliction springeth not out of the dust,
Nor sorrow sprout up from the ground."—

In other words, affliction comes to man not by any mischance or accident. It has its cause, and the cause is sin. If a man suffers the conclusion must inevitably be that he has sinned.

Bildād, the eastern philosopher *par excellence*, whose school is the respectable one of the traditions of the elders, and Zophar, the dogmatist, who makes up in zeal what he lacks in knowledge, repeat and insist on the same theme. Job suffers, therefore Job has sinned. Hope for him is in repentance, and

being good preachers, the friends forecast the years to find in loss a greater gain.

There can be no doubt that the friends' views represent the current theory of Providence, a theory that the poet through the mouth of Job attacks with a passion born of long acquaintance with his own or his nation's sufferings.

To the theory of his friends Job opposes the simple fact. His suffering is too intense, too overwhelming, to be accounted for in any such way. Besides that, a man knows his own heart. He alone can judge of the spirit that is in him, and he is conscious of no disobedience to the law of God, no crime that could entail such punishment.

So much for the friends. Job's argument is not with them but with Another. While they are speaking he is looking far away into the very secret place of God. It is a little thing that friends are estranged from him, since God has turned his seeming enemy. His voice breaks into a shrill and bitter cry as he turns his irony against the very throne of God.

"Am I a sea or a sea monster
That thou settest a watch over me !"

He takes the words of the 8th Psalm, strangely fulfilled in his case, and gives them a quite other meaning :

"What is man that thou should'st magnify him ?
That thou should'st visit him every morning
And try him every evening."

God visits him too much, that is the trouble.

"Why wilt thou not look away from me,
Nor leave me in peace while there is breath in my throat,
Why hast thou set me up as a butt,
So that I am become a target for thee ?"

Words as full of irony as those which Heine addressed from his mattress-grave to the great Aristophanes of heaven with his colossal jokes.

The mood of bitterness gives way to one of bold inquiry. Job knocks at the door of heaven for an answer, some ray of light upon his dark, perplexed soul—but the hope seems vain. So great, so unsearchable is He, that no man can hope to get things right with him.

"So he glideth by me and I see him not,
 Though I were faultless he would make me crooked,
 If I washed myself with snow,
 Thou would'st plunge me in the ditch."

Though he is innocent, and though God knows that, it yet seems that God is determined to treat him as His enemy. And what can Job do but submit? How can human reason and human plaint find the ear of such a God, indifferent as the facts of life prove him to be to the wrongs and woes of earth.

"His scourge slayeth at unawares good and bad alike,
 He scoffeth at the trial of the innocent,
 The earth is given into the hands of the wicked."

God is not irresponsible, but responsible to Himself alone. He is under no necessity to satisfy human reason and conscience with his acts. Job's view of God for the moment is not unlike that of Omar Khagim, for whom men are

"But helpless pieces of the game he plays
 Upon this chequer-board of Nights and Days,
 Hither and thither moves, and checks and slays,
 And one by one back in the closet lays."

Yet it is unlike too, since the Parsian was fain to be content, hoping for nothing better; but Job's healthier nature rises in bitter protest against that which the facts of life proclaim to be the truth concerning God. He pleads for a word, a sign, "one bolt from the blue." He is to plead yet again and then to feel that such knowledge must be given him.

As he advances further and further in his thought from God as he had thought to know Him, as one pin after another that held his early faith is rooted up, there is coming to a clearer dawning in Job a new faith in a Supreme Friend, an Over-God, who may yet befriend and clear him. In the 19th chapter this hope breaks forth into bold assurance.

"But I know that my Avenger liveth,
 Though it be at last upon my dust,
 My witness will avenge these things,
 *And a curse alight upon my enemies."

It has been customary to find in these words the boldest expression of the hope of immortality to be found in the Old

*(The translation is that of E. J. Dillon's "Skeptics of the Old Testament.")

Testament. All scholars admit the obscurity of the language. It may be that the hope of immortality is not to be found in them. On this none but Hebrew scholars can pronounce. But whatever the time or the manner of the avenging, this much is certain, that Job here plainly rises to the assurance of God's ultimate vindication of his innocence.

The light of hope springs up, flickers for a moment, and dies out, but the gloom is not henceforth so dark for its once shining. Job's last word to the Almighty is a still more fearless clearing of his soul. The Old Testament contains nothing which for ethical strength and beauty is to be compared to this final declaration of innocence. The inwardness of the Sermon on the Mount is here. He asks to be judged not for the weightiest offences of the law, but by the inward motive of the heart. If his heart has wandered into paths of evil desire, let him be judged for this. He had not eaten his morsel alone unless the fatherless had partaken thereof. He had not made gold his hope, nor had he rejoiced that his wealth was great. He had not even rejoiced at the ruin of his hater. He had written no imprecatory Psalms.

Here is Job's work. This is his character. Let the Almighty answer him.

"Here is my signature ; let the Almighty answer me
And bear the indictment which my adversary hath written."

The worst God can say of him is still his praise. He would hoist it upon his shoulder ; he would weave it as a crown unto himself ; as a prince he would draw near to God. Now is the dramatic moment for the Almighty to speak. Instead of that, a self-conscious young man, Elihu, comes forward and with many apologies and tiresome verbosity insists on his right to be heard, and finally reiterates the same doctrines the friends had spoken. laying, however, some insistence on a point Eliphaz had first touched, namely, the punitive or disciplinary character of suffering. Elihu's speech seems to be an artistic mistake, since it delays the answer of the Almighty to Job's challenge.

At last Jehovah comes to speak for himself. Out of the whirlwind He comes to address the sufferer.

The speech of the Almighty is, to say the least, worthy of the occasion and the book. The strange thing about it is that it does not answer Job. There is no review of the charges Job had made ; no attempt to refute them ; no cunningly devised words addressed to the intellect. This is strange, but it is a mark of the greatness of the book that such is the case. For how can the Almighty descend to argument ? And how could an argument such as the author could conceive heal the wound of the suffering servant ? There are deeps of truth and consolation that only the ineffable vision grasped by faith can reveal.

It is here Jehovah conducts Job, as he causes the drama of creation to unroll before his wondering eyes.

“When I laid the foundations of the earth where wast thou ?
 Who laid the corner-stone thereof
 When the morning stars sang together
 And all the sons of God shouted for joy ?
 Who shut in the sea with doors . . .
 And set its bars and portals,
 And said : ‘Hitherto shalt thou come
 And here shall thy proud waves be stayed ?’ ”

Beautifully the vision of power softens into that of Providential care.

“Who provideth his food for the raven
 When her young ones cry unto God ?
 It hovereth around nor groweth weary
 Seeking food for its nestlings.”

Job is bid deck himself with power and administer the laws of the universe. Perhaps he would feed the ravens and give the young lions their food. Perhaps he would give the little tender desert flowers their drop of dew, he, who is powerless to control even one of the creatures God has made.

It is the world itself, this living, moving garment of God that is Job's answer. And as Coleridge stood awe-struck before the majestic ice-falls of Mount Blanc, constrained to ask,

“Who made you glorious as the gates of Heaven,
 Beneath the keen full moon ?”

and could only answer,

“God, let the torrents like a shout of nations
 Answer, and let the ice-plains echo God.”

So Job, though with a humbler and less jubilant faith, found his answer and such peace as it was given him to feel.

“I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear.
But now mine eyes hath beheld thee ;
Therefore I resign and console myself,
Though in dust and ashes.”

.....

The most difficult task the poem of Job has for us is to determine what the author conceived to be the answer to the problem, “Why in God’s world do the righteous suffer.” Scholars have found the answer in nearly every part of the book.

The speeches of Elihu, regarded by many as the poor addition of a later and more prosaic age, have by others been regarded as the speculative answer to Job’s questionings.

Two considerations render it difficult to give to the Elihu speeches so distinguished a place. One is, that he really adds so little to the argument. His view of the meaning of suffering is that it is a warning or deterrent from sin, a discipline of the righteous soul, *when the righteous man has begun to entertain the desire for evil*. It is hard to see how this could be conceived to be an acceptable answer to the Job who had so clearly detected the inadequacy of theories not much less unsatisfactory than this.

The other consideration is the marked difference in the quality of the diction of the Elihu speeches, the loss of spontaneity in expression, the laborious argumentation that is evident even to the reader of the English bible. Without entering on the question of authorship, one may say that it is hard to see that the speeches of Elihu are the author’s answer to the problem.

The Prologue is considered by many to hold the secret of the book. It is there told that one of the court officials of heaven, the Satan, is given leave to test the piety of Job. Job’s suffering are his testing, for whose good the Prologue does not say.

It is hard to see what answer could be more unsatisfactory. Does not God know who are His without testing them so

cruelly? What of the poor human beings whose life of poverty is one long testing from the cradle to the grave? If God is testing men through suffering why does He not distribute the testing a little? The question, at the same time, is not what we of this twentieth century consider to be the answer, but what the author considered the answer. Yet the small place given to this idea of the testing of Job, the fact that it is not mentioned again throughout the poem nor even in the Epilogue, where Job is commended, not for having stood the test, but for having spoken what was right concerning God, seem to preclude this supposition.

The conclusion is that the answer to Job's question is given in the speech of the Almighty. And the answer is, that there can be no answer. Man is man, limited, finite, weak, ignorant; God's ways are all beyond his ken. His heart may protest, but that is because he thinks the Author of all to be like himself. When he knows more, he throws aside his poor philosophy and his equally poor protests and submits in dust and ashes. Not only in this final speech, but throughout the whole poem, this has been the recurring thought—men cannot understand the ways of God. Let man keep silence and find healing in resignation to his lot.

This is indeed the explicit lesson of the book of Job. Yet it is not the only lesson, nor perhaps even the chief lesson. When we have laid down the book there is ringing in our ears above the voice of his resignation the cry of Job for light, for explanation, for justice. Though he has resigned himself to ignorance, he still does so in dust and ashes. Though his voice is stilled, his very posture is a mute demand for right. His hope of a vindicator has not died for him or us.

And it is this cry of his, this daring hope, that after all makes the book of Job great among all the books of the world. It is the assertion of the right of the human heart to light. It is the expression of the conviction that this is a rational universe, that the mysteries of life and suffering and man and God are not forever hid away in impenetrable darkness, that reason is at the heart of things, and that reason can grope or beat her way there. It is the first assertion among the Hebrew people of the words of Hegel that "the hidden secret of the universe

is powerless to resist the weight of thought," a conviction that is implicit in the intellectual activity of our day or any day.

We, who have lived to see at least the beginning of the realization of this conviction, and who in the light of the christian revelation do not fear that even the most mysterious of God's providences can somehow, somewhere, be known to have their inner meaning of goodness, can look back with gratitude to this first brave, fearless pioneer, who in a strange land, where all was dark and where at last the darkness enveloped him again, strove to beat out a new path for the human heart, to assert the rights of man and the existence of a rational world.

S. H. GRAY.

THE JESUIT RELATIONS.

THEIR VALUE AS HISTORICAL MATERIALS.

EUROPEAN colonial policy, during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, presented, as its avowed basis, a rather strange admixture of religious and commercial motives. The two appear conjoined not alone in the writings of the time, but often in the official charters of commercial companies established for the exploitation of the new continent. The colonial policy of France rested especially upon this dual basis, and the colonial authorities of France strove consistently to keep both motives well in the foreground. "The glory of God and the commodity of His people" was the goal sought by the Most Christian King through the extension of French interests in North America.

To harmonize the claims of religion and commerce, of priest and trader, was never easy, and more than one governor of New France wore away his patience and energy in a fruitless effort to reconcile interests which from their very nature were sometimes impossible of complete reconciliation. This conflict of interests and purposes is the most striking feature in the whole history of the old regime ; to understand it is to possess the key to a proper estimation of French colonial policy in North America. The two most picturesque figures in New France were the Jesuit and the *coureur-de-bois*; each was the personification of a mighty interest striving for dominance over the other in the administration of the colony.

The personification of the religious propaganda in French America was the Jesuit missionary. Flushed with the spiritual conquest of Paraguay their advance guard arrived at Quebec just as the first quarter of the seventeenth century drew to its close, and before long the outposts of the Church had been out in all directions. Stalwart "black robes" soon made their way among the Montagnais to the North, the Iroquois to the South, the Abenakis to the East, and among the Hurons to the West.

“ Behold him on his way ; his breviary
“ Which from his girdle hangs, his only shield.
“ That well-known habit is his panoply,
“ That Cross the only weapon he will wield ;
“ By day he bears it for his staff afield,
“ By night it is the pillow of his bed.
“ No other lodging these wild woods can yield
“ Than Earth’s hard lap, and rustling overhead
“ A canopy of deep and tangled boughs far spread.”

Once at their posts the missionaries regularly sent down to Quebec full reports of their progress, statements of their difficulties, and forecasts of future success,—all interspersed with interesting descriptions of Indian customs, traditions and life. Not infrequently the reports included opinions, suggestions and comments on the conduct of civil affairs, so that the whole forms a valuable compendium of contemporary information upon various phases of colonial life, both savage and civilized.

Speaking generally, these reports may be grouped into two classes ; those which were of a confidential nature and hence not designed for publication, and those which, on the other hand, were written for the purpose of interesting the French people in the work of the missionaries. In the first class one may include personal letters written by missionaries to their friends in France, or to the Superior of the Order at Quebec, or to their brethren at other missions. Although not intended for the public eye, some of these letters found their way into a series of little volumes published in France during the years 1649–1654 under the title “*Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu : Ad Patres et Fratres ejusdem Societatis.*” But the greater part of them have not been preserved in any form for the historical student ; a fact which is much to be regretted, for they must have contained much valuable data which, from its personal nature, could not be incorporated in the reports intended for publication. The other class of reports is that which has come down to us as the *Rélations*. They begin with the *Rélation* of Briard concerning the Acadian missions in 1616, and appeared at irregular intervals down to 1626, when they ceased to appear until 1632. But in this latter year there began the long series of annual *Rélations* which were published

at Paris by Sebastien Cramoisey, and which served in their time to thrill the hearts of Frenchmen with tales of Jesuit heroism in the wilds of America.

This "Cramoisey" series, commencing with the *Rélation* of Le Jeune in 1632, contains forty-one volumes in all, thirty-nine of which bear the title "*Rélations*", while two—those of 1654-5 and 1658-9—are entitled "*Lettres*." With the appearance of the forty-first volume in 1672 the series abruptly ended, never to be resumed. This sudden termination, we are told by one whose study of the matter ought to have enabled him to speak with authority,* was "probably due to the influence of Frontenac." True enough, the fact that Frontenac had just arrived in the colony, coupled with the fact that he has come to us as a most uncompromising foe of the Jesuits, might seem to give ground for this probability. But there are several difficulties in the way. One of these is the fact that although the despatches of Frontenac to the home authorities have been preserved,† no one has been able to find even a suggestion that the writings of the Jesuits should be censored. Moreover, Bishop Laval, the chief prop of Jesuit power in New France, was at this very time in France receiving distinct marks of the royal favour. And it must likewise be borne in mind that Frontenac's influence at the French court was obtained and retained largely through his wife, and that it could scarcely have been sufficient to secure any such drastic action against a powerful religious order.

With perhaps better reason the historian Faillon declares that the suppression was due to the influence of Governor Courcelle, Frontenac's predecessor in office.‡ Faillon cites in support of his statement a *Mémoire* prepared by M. D'Allet, the secretary of M. Queylus, who shortly before this had held the position of Vicar-General, with headquarters at Montreal. But Queylus was an open enemy of the Jesuits, and the attitude of the master may have influenced the secretary to regard the

*Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. I, Introduction, p. 4.

†Canadian Archives, *Correspondance Generale*, Vols. III and IV.

‡Faillon, *Histoire de la Colonie française*, p. 290-291.

cessation of the *Rélations* as a set-back for the Order. At any rate the despatches of Courcelle in the *Correspondance Générale* give no evidence in support of Faillon's statement, and a careful investigator has searched the French archives without finding corroboratory evidence of any kind.*

The real reason for the cessation can, it seems, be found in the history of the Jesuit Order itself, and not in the annals of political discord in New France. The Jesuits, Franciscans, Sulpitians and other orders had their missions in Asia as well as in America, and in the East as in the West the intercourse was not always harmonious. Through the various published reports of the different missionaries the details of these inter-Order squabbles were reaching the ears of the faithful in Europe, much to the annoyance of the Papal authorities. Consequently, it is not surprising to find that, on April 6th, 1673, Pope Clement X issued a Bull which prohibited any further publication of what was going on at the outposts of the Church, unless with the special permission of the Propaganda.† This Bull forbade the publication not alone of the *Rélations* of the Jesuits in North America, but all reports relating to the work of missionaries of any Order in any part of the world. And as this decree left the Vatican in April it must have reached the Provincial of the Jesuits in France in adequate time to stay the publication of what would have formed the "*Relation* of 1673."

At any rate the Cramoisyys ceased in 1672, and from this time on there appeared only occasional letters published in the official organs of the Jesuit Order. These very probably had special license. Reports evidently continued to be made, but the failure to preserve them in printed form has caused most of them to be lost forever to the student of colonial history.

*Harris, *Notes pour servir l'histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, p. 60.

†The text of this Bull is as follows: "Nos his aliisque gravibus causis adducti, de memoratum Cardinalium concilio, auctoritate Apostolica, tenore presentium iterum prohibemus ne quis cujuscumque status, gradus, conditionis, etiam Regularis cujusvis ordinis, congregationis, instituti, et Societatis etiam Jesu, licet is esset, de quo specifica et individua mentio facienda foret, sine licentia in scriptis Congregationis eorundem cardinalium, quam in operis initio imprimere teneamur libros et scripta, in quibus de missionibus vel de rebus ad missiones pertinentibus agitur, per se vel per alium edat."

(*Juris pontificii de Propaganda fide*, Pt. I, p. 417, No. 1.)
 Cf. De Rochemontieu, *Les Jésuites*, (Paris: 1895). Vol. I, p. 47.

For almost a century after the close of French dominion in Canada, very little attention was paid to the *Rélations* by those who undertook to study and to write upon the history of New France. But during the fifties of the nineteenth century attention was called to their value, and at once a spirited search began to be made for the little duodecimo volumes. In the course of time some copies of each year's edition were brought to light, and soon reprints of various portions began to appear. All of these reprints were, however, incomplete ; most of them were in the original Latin or French ; while their limited number soon rendered even the reprints difficult of access to the ordinary student. It is only within the last few years that a comprehensive republication of all the *Rélations* and allied documents has been successfully undertaken, thus placing the enormous mass of data, in English, at our disposal.

These, then, are what the *Rélations* are ; it may be worth while, now that they have become accessible, to point out some features which ought to be borne in mind in any attempt to arrive at a proper estimation of their value as historical materials. For the danger of over-estimation is by no means slight in a generation when historical writers feel that they must buttress their conclusions with evidence drawn from "contemporaries", and too often forget that the "sources", if used without careful discrimination may serve only to mislead. In general, the value of "contemporary" writings will depend upon the character and trustworthiness of the writers ; their attitude towards the conditions they describe ; the circumstances under which they write, and the purpose which the writings are intended to serve.

Now the *Rélations* were the work of men whose character and trustworthiness were, in general, beyond reproach. The writings, it is true, contain some absolute mis-statements of fact,* but these must be regarded as due to an excessive zeal in recording the triumphs of the Cross rather than as wilful departure from the paths of truth. It may be noted, at the same

*Mr. Benjamin Sulte has estimated that the *Rélations* mentions a total of over *sixty thousand* conversions among the Hurons, although this tribe, at the zenith of its power, could not have comprised, at the highest estimate, more than *ten thousand* persons of all sexes and ages.—Sulte, *Reponse aux Critiques* (1883).

time, that the garb of a religious order is not of itself a guarantee of a chronicler's truthfulness. If proof of this be desired it may be found in the well-known case of Hennepin, who, although he wore the frock and cowl of St. Francis, has been deservedly pilloried by Kingsford as "one of the most shameless liars to be met with in literature."*

But, admitting freely the high character of the Jesuit chroniclers, one is still forced to examine the circumstances under which the *Rélations* were written and published; their object, and, finally, the attitude of the writers towards the men and measures of their time. The *Rélations* were, as is well-known, written under the greatest difficulties. "Jotted down hastily," writes Le Jeune, "now in one place, now in another; sometimes on water, sometimes on land."† Suffocated by smoke within the narrow confines of an Indian hovel, or more often out in the depths of the forest by the light of the moon and stars, the missionaries sought to record the doings of the day. It is little wonder, then, that many of the narratives are incoherent; that repetitions are frequent, and that there is often a lack of arrangement or even of sequence in the presentation of events.

Again, it is well to remember that the *Rélations* were written consciously. They were prepared by the writers knowing that they were to be published, and they were published primarily with the object of securing moral and financial support for the North American missions from the people of France. The opinion expressed by Kingsford that "no newspaper correspondent ever made greater efforts favourably to represent the cause he was advertising",‡ seems to do the missionaries a gross and gratuitous injustice; at the same time the knowledge of the end which the writings were to serve cannot have been without its effect on the Jesuit's mind and, hence, without influence on his work.

What is even more pertinent in this regard, the *Rélations* were consciously edited and re-edited before they reached the

*Kingsford, *History of Canada*, I, 376, note.

†Le Jeune, *Relation of*, 1686.

‡Kingsford, *op. et loc. cit.*

press. It was the custom of the missionaries to forward their reports to the Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec whenever a favourable opportunity afforded itself; in some cases they came down with the fur flotillas and made oral report. In the former case the Superior revised the written report forwarded to him; in the latter he composed a report from the oral narration given him. Then, having placed all the reports of the year in proper form, he despatched the whole *dossier* to the Provincial of the Order in France. This official, after a further "careful scrutiny and re-editing", gave them to Cramoisy for publication.* How much was added, altered or omitted during this double process of scrutiny and revision we have no means of knowing. It may not be unfair to conjecture, however, that the well-known teachings of the school of Loyola were not without some influence upon the editorial ethics. At any rate, we have the avowal of one of these revising Superiors that he did not attempt to send home a relation of all that went on in the colony, but only of "that which touches the good of the Faith and Religion."† "The *Rélations*", wrote Père Claude Boucher to Père Bagot in 1633, "should not be read with the idea that they tell everything, but only that which is edifying."‡

Nevertheless the *Rélations* do contain much more than a mere narration of religious life and progress, and much concerning the civil administration of the colony which is far from edifying. And it is just for this reason that caution in their use is necessary. For it is well-known that the Jesuits were, during the greater part of the French régime, in antagonism towards the civil authorities on many important points of political, social and economic policy. The Jesuits consistently opposed, for one thing, the system of carrying on the fur trade through the media of posts on the upper lakes for the reason that these too often served as centers for the distribution of brandy among the western redskins. To the civil authorities both the posts and the liquor were essential to the control of the trade; for if the French did not supply the savage with *eau-de-*

*Thwaites, *op. cit.* Introduction.

†Le Jeune, *Rélation* of 1638.

‡Rochemontieux, *Les Jesuites*, I, p. 18.

vie, the English from Albany would readily seize the opportunity so to do. Again, the missionaries opposed with equal vigour the system of forest trade carried on by the *coureurs-de-bois*, for the reason that the conduct of these latter was not usually in consonance with those principles of sobriety and chastity which the Jesuits emphasized in their work among the savages. At times the influence of the Church prevailed and civil ordinances framed in accordance with their desires were issued. But in the long run the western posts, the liquor trade and the *coureurs-de-bois* remained. In vain Bishop Laval endeavoured to convince the home authorities that the continuance of the whole system meant the ruin of the Church in New France. The practical bent of Colbert's mind led him only to suggest, however, that the Ancient Church had not been ruined by trade and liquor in European lands.

Now in view of this bitter opposition to several important features of civil policy in New France as well to the authorities who lent support to the policy, it is not unreasonable to believe that the Jesuits were often over-zealous in their denunciation of those who controlled the political and economic administration of the colony, especially in the western wilderness. Of the on-goings at some of the western trading posts and of the conduct of men like Lamotte-Cadillac, Tonti, Du Luth, La Forêt and others we know very little save what may be gleaned from the Jesuit *Rélations*, *Lettres* and *Journals*. And in these we find little that is to the credit either of the posts or of the men. Cadillac post at Detroit was, according to Jesuit testimony, a drinking-dive and brothel of the most degraded type. One of the missionaries who was most vehement in his denunciation of existing conditions suggests with blunt frankness that "discreet and virtuous persons should be chosen to take charge of all the trade in the western country, and that these persons should be in constant sympathy with the Jesuits."* It is quite within the bounds of possibility that a desire to share in the lucrative profits of the fur traffic may have partly underlain the Jesuit attitude. Parkman has adduced conclusive proof, drawn from the writings of the missionaries themselves, that the

**Carheil à Champigny*, (Aug. 80th, 1702.)

Jesuits did not disdain to take a hand in the trade when the opportunity presented itself.*

The western trader, on the other hand, was not a chronicler; most of these picturesque figures have left us no record of their doings and opinions. But if we attach any importance to the despatches of their friends in high places, the *coureur-de-bois* might readily have met the Jesuit accusations with no dearth of counter-charges. Frontenac did not hesitate, in his despatches to the French Minister, to brand the missionaries as a curse on the colony. "They will not even civilize the Indians," he wrote, "but keep them in perpetual wardship, thinking more of peltry than of souls; their missions are hollow mockeries."† La Salle and others go out of their way to protest against the methods and general attitude of the priests.‡

It is indeed well that the anti-clerical side of the case has, to some extent, come down to us in the preserved despatches, reports and memoirs of the higher civil officials of the colony. Thanks to the enterprise of the Canadian Archives Branch and to the generosity of the Dominion government, these are being transcribed and will soon be at the disposal of the historical student. It is sincerely to be hoped that, before many years have passed, the more important portions of the *Correspondance Générale* will be rendered as accessible as the ecclesiastical writings.

To minimize in any way the religious or literary achievements of the Jesuit missionaries is farthest from my desire or thought. But in these days, when some writers show a disposition implicitly to accept any statement either of reputed fact or opinion which the pages of the *Rélations* contain, to sound a *caveat lector* may not be useless. For, as a discriminating student of the sources has warned us, "the danger of mistaking a partisan or biassed work for gospel is both fatal and frequent."§ The seeker for the truth will do very well to remember the circumstances under which the *Rélations* were written; the pur-

*Old Regime in Canada, p. 377, *Correspondence Générale*, Vol. IV.

†Frontenac à Ministre, (Nov. 14th, 1674).

‡La Salle, *Memoire de 1678*.

§Colby, *Selections from the Sources*, p. 24.

pose for which they were written and published ; the fact that they were twice scrutinized and edited before publication ; and, finally, that both writers and editors were uncompromisingly hostile to the civil policy and to the policy of the other religious orders in the colony.

On all matters relating to savage life, customs, language and traditions the student will not probably go grievously astray in accepting the evidence of the *Rélations* without reserve. It is no doubt true that a propensity to sharpen the contrast between the traits of savage and civilized life, and a tendency to read into savage customs philosophical explanations which they will not bear,—tendencies which have marked the writings of most civilized portrayers of savage life ever since the time of Caesar and Tacitus—may not have been absent in the case of the Jesuits. But as regards many more important matters, as, for example, the nature and extent of the western trade, the character and conduct of the traders and their services both in extending French influence and in controlling this trade, the real nature and basis of French civil diplomacy in relation to the Indians, the extent to which the liquor traffic really injured the redskins, the value of the work accomplished by the other religious Orders ; on all these and many similar matters of importance the uncorroborated testimony of the *Relations* ought to be received only with due reserve.

If the student must thresh out this “storehouse of contemporary information”, let him take heed to winnow well, lest he have much chaff among his wheat. The truth will be had, if at all, only through a judicious sifting of both civil and ecclesiastical materials.

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THE CHURCH AND THE MAN.

THE PROBLEM.

THAT the church is losing the man from both pulpit and pew is a well recognized fact, that the loss is fatal to the church is self-evident. The man is the stay of the church, the lack of the man means the lack of spiritual vitality, and though without him there may be all the form and method of progress, the church militant is doomed to failure if it cannot retain the man. The church is rich in lands, in gold, in churches, in women, in forms, in organization, but she is by no means rich in men. The decline of the man's interest in the church is general at the present time throughout Christendom and Canada shares in this decline, though perhaps in a less degree than some other countries where there seems to be almost a divorce between the man and the church. But even in Canada the tendency of the man to ignore the church is a marked feature of our religious life, and I wish from the standpoint of a layman to suggest what I believe to be the cause of this condition.

THE CLERICAL VIEW.

There has been no lack of expression of opinion as to the cause from the clerical point of view, and though there has been anything but unanimity in these opinions, they have had this in common, that the fault lay with the man and not with the church. Naturally the clerical view predicates that the church is a divine institution, and that when the man does not fit himself as a living stone into the building, the man is blamable ; from this point of view the reason which is most frequently assigned for the lack of men in both pulpit and pew is that the commercialism of the age and the desire for pleasure have drawn men's attention away from spiritual things to material considerations. I do not think that this is an adequate conception of the difficulty, it is based on the view that the church is something apart from the life of man, a sort of spiritual extinguisher to be fitted upon him to put out the material flame

that threatens to burn ever higher. If man is made for the church, and not the church for man, this may be a satisfactory solution of the problem, but if the church is made for man then it surely follows that the church must change to meet the changed conditions of man rather than that man must bend himself to the iron frame of the church.

THE LAY VIEW.

During the last forty years there has been little or no change in the church in Canada, while the life of man materially, politically, intellectually and spiritually has been vastly changed, almost revolutionized. If this is the fact, and surely it cannot be gainsaid, then is there any room for wonder that the church which attracted the man of the early sixties fails to attract the man of the twentieth century? A generation is a short time in the life of a people, but the passing generation has seen greater transformations than have ordinarily taken place in many centuries. The church has stood still, the people have advanced, there is a divergence, it is constantly growing and will continue to grow. The remedy is a very simple one, simple in theory, the church must meet the changed conditions.

The defection of man is largely from the Protestant churches, those churches in which there is the largest measure of liberty, in which the appeal to reason is the strongest, in which there has been some degree of recognition of the changed conditions of modern life. It may well be asked how, if the defection is greatest in the churches which have in some measure sought to meet the new conditions of life, a further advance on the same lines would overcome the tendency rather than intensify it. The answer is found in a consideration of the historic relations of the churches to the people.

THE HISTORIC CHURCHES—IN THEORY.

Men are divided by bent of mind, aided by training and environment into two great relative divisions, those who reverence authority, prerogative, dogma, tradition, whom in the religious sphere we may denominate traditionalists, and those who reverence individualism, reason, liberty, progress, whom

we may term progressives. This division does not obtain simply in religious matters, but in all the relations of life ; in art we find the realists and the idealists ; in politics we have the autocrat and the democrat ; in philosophy the materialist stands over against the idealist ; in social life the patrician is in contrast with the plebeian. These divisions are not absolute but relative, and there are cross-divisions ; it may happen that the traditionalist in religion is an idealist in art and a democrat in civil and social life, but as it rarely does happen, the exception goes to prove the rule. Man is more conservative in matters of religion than in any other of his relations, and it is not surprising that the christian church, which was for many centuries an oligarchy, should have withstood the rising tide of democracy more effectually than any other institution. The divine right of kings was the watchword of an age long gone by ; the divine right of the church is still a shibboleth with a large part of the christian world.

Down to the Reformation the Roman Catholic Church was supreme, few questioned her divine right, and they at their peril ; freedom of thought and liberty of worship were forbidden fruits on the tree of knowledge, and though many longed for them few reached after them. But the terrible upheaval which we call the Reformation turned the minds of men to the consideration of the right of private judgment, and the doctrine of individual freedom of opinion sprang into prominence at a bound. This was the broad principle on which took place the cleavage of the Reformed churches from the Roman Catholic Church. The rock on which the latter was founded was the authority of the church over the conscience of the individual, the former were based on the freedom of the individual conscience ; in the latter the word of mother church was the interpretation to the individual of the will of God, in the former the soul of the individual lay bare before his maker, and neither priest nor church should come between these two. The one was the incarnation of authority, the other of liberty. Thus there were brought to the two great relative divisions of men, the disciples of authority and the votaries of liberty, the two forms, at least in theory, of religious organization which appealed to their bent of mind. For over three centuries men

have availed themselves of the opportunity thus open to them of enlisting themselves under the banner of authority or the flag of freedom, and though heredity, education, home training and environment have been restraining influences in keeping men in the church of their fathers, not a few have availed themselves of the glorious privilege of choice thus afforded, that of determining by which religious road, the way of authority or the way of liberty, they could best travel towards God. So well fitted are these two types of churches to enable the two great relative classes to work out their ideals that he would be rash indeed who would declare to-day that the world would be the better of having only one of them.

I do not mean to convey the impression that there is a broad line of neutral ground on each side of which all churches may be classed, the division of the churches like that of individuals is only relative, while a few churches attempt to harmonize both ideals with small success. A hybrid is seldom fruitful.

THE HISTORIC CHURCHES—IN PRACTICE.

Now, as I have stated, the tendency of the man to ignore the church, which has characterized the last forty years, has not been so marked in the Roman Catholic Church as in the Protestant churches; while that church has been affected by the prevailing tendency it has retained the man in its fold to a larger degree than the Reformed churches. It attracts to it the votaries of authority and form, and these find in it what they seek, its claim of authority is absolute and it makes good its claim, its traditional forms are beautiful. Its authority and formalism induce obedience and passivity, while they repress that strong individualism and intellectual activity which are engendered by the constant appeal to the reason and the judgment in the Reformed churches.

But the votary of liberty, reason and progress, on the contrary, does not find in the Reformed churches the reality corresponding to these ideals. The clergy rule the Reformed churches as effectually as the priests do the Roman Catholic Church, though not by the same direct methods, the appeal to reason by the individual layman or clergyman is immediately met by the organized forces of the church and progress is

barred and hedged about by restrictions at every turn. There are only two possible sources of authority, God the ultimate source and the people the mediate source, the authority of the Reformed churches is not assumed to be derived from either source.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCHES IS CLERICAL—LIBERTY
IS TABOO.

The Reformation was founded on the theory of individual freedom, but the theory was never consistently carried into practice in the Reformed churches. At the Reformation the control of the churches passed to the civil power, the magistrate was regarded as the minister of God, uniformity and conformity were demanded, the maxim "*Cujus regio, ejus religio*" succinctly expressed the status of the church. This was succeeded by the era of clerical government; the clergy drew to themselves the control which they denied to the priest and the king, and the satirist summarized the new order

"New Presbyterian is but old Priest writ large."

Though centuries have passed the government of the Reformed churches still remains in the clergy. The control of the churches is exercised by a limited number of delegated clergymen and laymen assembled in meetings called by various names, Assemblies, Conferences, Synods, Councils, Unions, but these meetings are ordinarily composed of the clergy and of laymen with clerical sympathies. There is in some of the churches a semblance of lay control, but there is no church, in which there is a strong governing body, which is not under clerical control. No denomination is organized on a thoroughly democratic basis. It has been asserted that there is no democratic basis on which a church can be established that will give the control of the church into the hands of the laity if women are given a voice in the government of the church proportionate to their numbers as they are in a majority in the churches, and they ordinarily side with the clergy as against the laymen. I doubt the truth of the assertion, it had a measure of truth in the past, but the women of to-day with a broader education and an increased interest in public affairs are not the same women who in the past bowed so readily to

clerical vestments ; but it cannot be denied that womankind has contributed largely to maintaining the predominating influence of the clergy in the church.

The last forty years have brought us the full tide of democratic sway in civic, educational, social and commercial affairs, and it is difficult for the self-assertive democrat of Saturday, who shares in the control of the great affairs of the world civil and moral to resign himself meekly on Sunday to a form of government in the religious sphere in which piety, morality, character or initiative count for nothing, and position and tradition count for everything. The more forceful the character, the heavier does the badge of lay inferiority rest upon him. The man of to-day has a free field in which to exercise his civil rights, he has a voice in the government of his country, and he may if he has the ability, sit in her councils, he may freely exercise his aesthetic faculties and aid in directing a school of art, he may show his interest in education by sharing in the control of the schools, he may manifest his charity by assisting in the conduct of charitable institutions, he may evidence his religion by ruling in matters of piety and love outside the church, for in all these the way is open to all men to employ themselves as they are given ability, but the government of the church is reserved to a distinct class, and the layman is a mere cipher which can only count by having a clerical figure placed before it. True, he is expected to furnish the sinews of war, and in a very limited sphere he may exercise himself somewhat, but in the general councils of his church he is but a lay figure. The man goes to the modern lodge-room and finds there a democratic spirit which attracts him, and the lodge-room is doing its share in detracting from the influence of the church. If the control of the fraternal orders was handed over to the chaplains of the lodges, how long would these continue to attract the men ? Wherever there is organized labor there is a certain amount of antagonism to the church, or, rather, let us say, to the clerical control of the church. A clergyman was bemoaning to me the fact that the laboring classes kept aloof from his church. I suggested to him that if his church adopted the republican form of government he could get all the labor men in it he desired. His

answer was that he did not wish to have the labor element running his church, and that answer covers the whole question. Less than twelve men actually control the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and there is no power on earth except death that can remove their control, and when they die there will be new men to take their places, and yet some people talk of the democratic constitution of the Presbyterian Church. The question of the union of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches is a live one to-day, union or no union rests with the clergy, they will decide the question, the laity will be united or kept separate as the clergy decide, and the constitution of the united church, if there be one, will be so arranged that the church will be, in fact, in the hands of the clergy. That the laity of these churches favor union on general business principles, instead of denominational rivalry, goes without saying, indeed the laity are one in these churches already, but that goes for nothing until the clergy get ready to unite the churches. The opinion of the laity will count for something, but they will not control any of the church councils by which the matter will be decided. The tendency will be for men to become more and more out of touch with the churches in which the government is in the hands of the clergy.

THE CREED OF THE CHURCHES IS ECCLESIASTICAL—REASON
IS TABOO.

Small as the part is which the layman has in the organic government of the church, it is greater than in the share he has in formulating or controlling the creed of the church. If he has small scope for the exercise of liberty he has less scope for the exercise of reason. Suffice it to say that the creed of every church is the handiwork of its clergy, that the clergy are much more attached to tradition and prerogative than the laity, that the people have travelled far from the creeds and are largely out of touch with the preaching of the day. So conservative are the clergy as a class that their subscription to the creed of the churches is now merely formal, they have travelled so much faster as individuals than they have as a body ; as for the people of the Reformed churches the day has gone forever when it is necessary or possible for those in the same church to sub-

scribe to the same intellectual beliefs. The day of strident creed and imperious dogma is gone. The great mass of the younger men do not believe in a twenty-four-hour creation day, in the eating of the literal apple, in a God with human passions, in the walled-up water, in the habitable whale, in the lurid flames of hell, in the vicarious punishment of Christ, in the subordination of woman, in the inerrancy of Scripture; the clergy are preaching round these and kindred subjects, steering carefully between the traditional teaching of the church and the reason of the man in the pew. This cuts both ways, it keeps the thoroughly sincere man out of the pulpit and drives the intelligent man from the pew. The creeds of the past are fading away, the clergy will not frame new ones because these would have to be so broad that they would be a mere enunciation of the principles of the New Testament. The people would formulate the broader creed, but they have no authority in the existing church to do so. The result is that the only way of expressing belief is by the roundabout way of negation of the present creeds.

The clergy of the Reformed churches cannot formulate the creed and control the organization and at the same time retain the thinking men in the church, but though the exercise of reason and the desire for liberty have tended to detach men from the church, much more has the spirit of progress driven them forth.

THE CHURCHES ARE TORPESCENT—PROGRESS IS TABOO.

A generation ago the man who did not believe in the letter of the scriptures, who did not attend on the services of the church, or regard the sanctity of the Sabbath, was opprobriously called an infidel; to-day the man who neither believes in verbal inspiration, nor goes to church, nor keeps Sunday as a sacred day, may be considered by the community in which he dwells as consistent a follower of Jesus Christ as the man who does all three. Infidelity has practically died out of the land, there is no school of thought antagonistic to christianity, the true religion that visits the fatherless and the widow and keeps itself unspotted from the world has largely increased, never has there been so much reverence for God and His revealed will, the

Bible is read and studied more and more, the morals of the people are improving ; lying, theft, unchastity, dishonesty and crime generally are reprobated and punished, and it is everywhere recognized that there is no salvation for democracy except in its being a christian democracy ; notwithstanding all this the church is losing its grip. The schoolmaster has been abroad in the land during these forty years, higher education has become common property, the scientific method has come into vogue, evolution has been evolved, men are doing their own thinking to a greater degree than ever before, but the people, especially those who have benefitted by this intellectual activity, hold aloof from the church. Concurrently with the spread of democratic institutions, the improvement in morals, the diffusion of popular education and the increase of higher education, have come disbeliefs in the standards of the church, dissatisfaction with her government, and disregard of her services. The people are appealing from the clergy to Christ, and from the church to the Bible. Preaching continues in the old dogmatic fashion, the occupant of the pulpit twice a Sunday sets forth his opinion in terms of positive truth in the name of God, but too often he does not carry conviction to the pew. The prayer meeting and the class meeting are dying out, especially among the educated. The people are eager for teaching, but they do not get it ; there are few of the clergy who discuss with their people the live religious questions of the day. Sacerdotalism is the vogue, the clergyman officiates, he does not teach, he does not call himself a priest, but he seeks to be one. He approaches religious questions from the clerical point of view, while the people look at them from the opposing standpoint. Take, by way of example, the sanctity of the Sabbath ; the average Canadian is heartily in sympathy with the maintenance of Sunday as a civic day of rest and by legal enactment if necessary ; but the clergy insist on something more than a Sunday law, they want the law to recognize and be based on the sanctity of the Sabbath. The people rather resent the efforts of the clergy to bring the arm of the law to aid in advancing their own peculiar ecclesiastical ideas. It seems now that we must destroy the Sabbath as a sacred day before we can get Sunday definitely fixed as a day of rest.

Some laymen desire Sunday as a day of pleasure, others as a day of rest, still others as a day of joyful communing with their Lord and Master, but sabbatarianism is really dead among the laity. The people are breaking down the division between sacred and secular, the clergy are keeping it up.

The printing press is the friend of the people, the best thought of the age is common property and may be had almost for the reading. The magazines with their immense circulation are furnishing much matter that competes with the pulpit, the writings of men like F. W. Robertson, Henry Drummond and Ian McLaren have such a breadth of view that it is a question if, by contrast, they do not detract from the teachings of the orthodox clergy; the result of the higher criticism has been to lessen the influence of all preaching that ignores it. The denominational press, on the other hand, is altogether an echo of the pulpit, it does not recognize lay opinions in any way, there is no journal in Canada that professes to voice the religious opinions of the laity of the church, there is no Canadian publication (if we accept world wide) that discusses the vital questions of religious life as they exist among the people. But the questions are discussed and the magazines that discuss them are read in the home, in the reading room, in the railway carriage, and even at the hotel table you will find the traveller reading 'The Literary Digest,' 'The New York Outlook,' and similar publications that interpret to the common people the labored thought of the greatest minds.

THE REMEDY—A CHURCH OF THE PEOPLE.

When incidentals are discarded and only essentials are taken into account there will be but two great churches, there must be two, England cannot remain overwhelmingly Protestant nor France Roman Catholic, the difference in men is not merely national or racial, but fundamental, and the churches must in the end correspond to this fundamental difference. There is a church of authority, the Roman Catholic Church, it is true to its ideal, it is the church of the traditionalist, and in it he may well rest at ease, it does his thinking, it makes a smooth straight path in which if he is content he may walk in peace. But for the other great division of mankind, those who must

think, who will be free, who cannot rest content under the spell of any other man, for these there is no church, they may find the form of liberty, the semblance of reason, the figment of progress, but the reality is not. The church of the people will come, it must come, and the great principles of its charter will be (1) unity based on a person not on a creed, (2) liberty of thought, (3) government by the people, and (4) a teaching order. In this church the man will be found, it will not be possible to keep him out of it, he will be the church.

Within the Roman Catholic Church the leaven of the Reformation was working and in the Reformed churches it is working, that leaven which will raise up a church of the people, and this leaven is working not among the laity alone but also among the clergy. While the pulpit is largely out of touch with the progress of the world during the last generation, it should not be overlooked that individual clergymen are in the van of progress. These are applying to the hearts of men, the truths which the men of science have supplied to their minds, and much of the literature which is giving voice to the aspirations of the people and moulding the thought of the younger men is the product of these clergymen. In both pulpit and pew are those who are ready to be led forth as soon as a new Luther arises to lead them, and there never yet has been needed a leader of the people that He who is the great leader did not find some one to fill the need.

A. McLEOD.

THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

1. Now that the political temperature has fallen, and both Liberals and Conservatives are satisfied with the result in North Oxford, it ought not to be so difficult as it was to discuss the school question calmly. In the last number of the *QUARTERLY* Professor Cappon expressed the view that there was in the constitution of Canada a principle of sectarianism which should be limited as far as possible, and that Sir Wilfred Laurier in the Autonomy Bill was taking not only the unconstitutional but the wrong course by extending it. Another view of the question is, I think, allowable. It may be argued that the formal recognition by the Dominion Government of Protestant and Catholic in the schools of the new provinces is both constitutional and right. That is the position which I, without entering into a detailed examination of the bill now before Parliament, desire to develop in the following article.

2. A preliminary remark may be made. Each political party has tried to fasten on the other the onus of appealing to religious prejudice, and in so doing has acted unwisely. Not to touch on race and religion when dealing with education is, in Canada at least, impossible, since the very terms of the British North America Act and the conditions, under which we exist as a people, unite them. There would never have been a confederation of provinces, as Sir Oliver Mowat said (quoted in *Debates* for 1896, I, 2775,) unless the Act had clearly defined the conflicting interests of Protestant and Catholic in this matter. Hence the only point is not which party has been guilty of introducing the topic of religion, but only whether this delicate topic is touched by it in a statesmanlike way.

3. **Education in the B.N.A. Act, 1867.** The famous clause in the B. N. A. Act, 1867, "Clause 93", concerning the meaning and scope of which there has been such acute difference of opinion, reads as follows :—

Education.

93. In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions :

- (1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union.
- (2) All the powers, privileges, and duties at the Union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec :
- (8) Where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or decision of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education :
- (4) In case any such Provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section and of any decision of the Governor General in Council under this section.

4. The very structure of the Act is interesting. Clause 93 is one of five clauses of section VI, entitled "Distribution of Legislative Powers." In clause 91, under twenty-nine sub-sections are enumerated the "Powers of the Parliament"; in clause 92 under sixteen sub-sections are enumerated the "Exclusive Powers of Provincial Legislatures"; and then clauses 93, 94 and 95, referring respectively to "Education", "Uniformity of Laws in Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick", and "Agriculture and Immigration" complete the section. It is manifest, even to the casual reader, that education does not fall under the exclusive powers either of the Dominion Parliament or of the Province, but belongs to both. Some champions of Provincial Rights argue as if education was a sub-section of clause 92. It is not necessary to say that neither Mr. Borden nor Mr. Haultain has given currency to this blunder.

5. **History of the Clause: the Quebec Conference.** The blunder is hardly excusable if the evolution culminating in clause 93 is observed. In the resolutions drawn up at Quebec Oct. 10th–28th 1864 by delegates, 32 in all, from all the provinces, including Newfoundland, education is mentioned in “Article 43” as the sixth subject, respecting which the local legislatures shall have power to make laws. The sub-section reads :

6. Education : saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant or Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools at the time when the Union goes into operation. (Debates on Confederation, p. 4.)

In this sub-section the two Canadas (Ontario and Quebec are made exceptions to the proposal that education should belong exclusively to the provinces. But the exception is significant. Legislation affecting the standards of education falls within the power of the province ; but there is to be no interference in these two provinces with the right of the minority to its dissentient or denominational schools. (The word “sectarian” is objectionable and is tabooed in the acts). In these two provinces the rights of minorities limit the rights of provinces.

6. A brief explanation is needed here. We must project ourselves backwards, so to speak, if we are to understand clearly the language of that time. With the present connotation of the phrase “Provincial Rights” in our minds, *i.e.*, right of the majority in a province as against the Dominion legislating in behalf of a minority in the same province, a shade of obscurity is thrown over the problem involved in confederation. In 1864 the exclusive right of a province was in a measure the same thing as the right of a minority, since Lower Canada and to a lesser degree the Maritime Provinces had laws and usages of their own which they feared to lose by absorption in the Dominion. Mr. Macdonald, recognizing the justice of this plea, waived his own preference for a legislative union (*i.e.*, one government for all the provinces,) and advocated a federal union, involving local or provincial authority. Personally he wanted a government which could strike with all the strength of the provinces combined, and he was not afraid to

mention the contingency of war between Great Britain and the United States. But he knew that a legislative union was powerful in appearance only unless it evoked the enthusiasm of the contracting parties. The agitation, familiarly known as "Rep. by Pop." (representation in proportion to population) never succeeded, abstractly fair as it seems to be, because it would have given Upper Canada with its larger population power over Lower Canada. So Macdonald said (*Debates on Confederation*, p. 44), "We all feel the advantages we derive from our connection with England. So long as that alliance is maintained we enjoy under her protection the privileges of constitutional liberty according to the British system. We will enjoy here that which is the great test of constitutional freedom—we will have the rights of minorities respected." In most cases rights of provinces and rights of minorities coincided; where they clashed, as in "education", the rights of minorities had to be specially accented.

7. **Votes on the Quebec Resolutions.** The Quebec resolutions, whose education clause was recognized by its framers to be incomplete, and to presuppose some additional legislation (see *Confederation Debates*, pp. 407, 408, 411, 412, and especially Cartier's replies to Mr. Rose,) were carried, as Mr. Macdonald urged, without amendment after a debate of which Canadians have good reason to be proud. The vote (*Debates*, p. 962,) stood 91 to 33 in the Legislative Assembly (Lower House), and 45 to 15 in the Legislative Council (Upper House). That the Assembly was awake to the necessity of conserving the rights of the minority is evidenced by the reception accorded to an amendment to a motion appointing a committee to draft an address on Confederation to Her Majesty. The amendment ran as follows:

That the following words be added to the original motion:—"And that it be an instruction to the said Committee to consider whether any constitutional restriction which shall exclude from the local legislature of Upper Canada the entire control and direction of education, subject only to the approval or disapproval of the general Parliament, is not calculated to create widespread dissatisfaction, and tend to foster and create jealousy and strife between the various religious bodies in that section of the province." (*Debates*, p. 1026.)

This amendment was negated by a vote of 95 to 8.

8. **Significance of the Votes.** Absorbing as the titanic struggle raging all through these years is, in which the unity of the American Republic was in jeopardy, the efforts of Canadian statesmen to effect a union of the British provinces have an interest of their own. The "peaceful revolution", as it has been called, involving the adjustment not only of provinces, but of languages, races and creeds, taxed the skill, forbearance and steadfastness of purpose of our statesmen. They had to steer between those who wanted entire uniformity in the new Dominion, with the obliteration of all local interests, and those who saw nothing of value beyond local interests. There was the demand (*à la Sieyes*, as Carlyle might say,) made by Mr. Holton that "some final and permanent system of education will be enacted by this legislature" (Debates, p. 148), a Procrustes-bed, in fact, under the alluring title of "national schools" or "common school system," a demand which Mr. A. Mackenzie, much as he personally favoured some one system, would not support. On the other hand, J. Sandfield Macdonald, "believing that a denial of the right of the majority to legislate on any given matter has always led to grave consequences," urged that every province should have its own way in education. Between these two extremes nothing seemed evident to the "world's coarse thumb and finger" but bargaining ("huxtering arrangements", as Mr. Holton had described them,) reluctant concessions, and forced compromises, pregnant with future bitterness and discord. And yet, according to Mr. R. J. Cartwright, they were "raising this country from the position of a mere province to that of a distinct nation", (Debates, p. 822,) and, according to Mr. John A. Macdonald, they were "forming a great nationality, commanding the respect of the world." (Debates, p. 277.)

9. **The London Conference.** It is possible to pass over the other events of the years from 1864 to 1866. In 1866 the Government of Canada introduced a bill (called the Lower Canada Education Bill) for the purpose of protecting the minority in Lower Canada, but withdrew it finally, owing to the determination of their Lower Canada supporters to oppose it unless a similar bill with reference to the Catholic minority in Upper Canada was carried *pari passu*. Plainly something

more specific was required than the meagre clause in the 43rd article of the Quebec resolutions. This detail was supplied by the London Conference (4th-24th Dec., 1866), whose membership included amongst others Tupper and Tilley from the Gulf provinces, and Macdonald, Cartier, Galt and Howland from the Canadas. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island had for different reasons dropped out of the negotiations. The finding of this Conference, so far as it affected education, was as follows: The exception affecting the rights and privileges of Protestant and Catholic minorities was extended to the minority in any province having rights or privileges by laws as to denominational schools at the time when the union went into operation. And a provision, designed to make the other clauses effective, was added that

"in any province where a system of separate or dissentient schools by law obtains, or where the local legislature may hereafter adopt a system of separate or dissentient schools, an appeal shall be to the Governor-General in Council of the general government from the acts and decisions of the local authorities which may affect the rights or privileges of the Protestant or Catholic minority in the matter of education, and the general parliament shall have power in the last resort to legislate on the subject."

This finding was expanded into "Clause 93" of the B.N.A. Act, and clause 146 of the same Act makes the decision applicable to the "North-Western Territory."

Conservative and Liberal statesmen, especially when sobered by the responsibility of office, have alike accepted the B.N.A. Act and the obligations it involves. Both sides are clear that the provinces have rights and the minorities have rights, but differ as to the amount of emphasis to be laid on each. Mr. Borden and Mr. Haultain think that the important feature of clause 93 is the exclusive power given to the provinces. They contend that the B. N. A. Act operates automatically without the interference of the Dominion, and that any action whatsoever by the Dominion, even the simple declaration to perpetuate the present school system of the territories, is *ultra vires*. Sir Wilfrid Laurier is of a different mind, and believing that the B. N. A. Act insists primarily on the rights of minorities, proposes a bill to confirm them in these rights.

10. Bearing of Subsequent Events. The Premier is strengthened in this course by events which have transpired since 1867. In 1871 the New Brunswick legislature passed the New Brunswick School Act, "providing for a compulsory rating and assessment for non-sectarian schools." (Bourinot's Federal Government in Canada in 7th series of the Johns Hopkins Studies), and the minority, considering that the B. N. A. Act was violated, exhausted every means of securing redress. Redress was, however, refused on the ground that as the Catholics did not enjoy separate privileges prior to confederation, the province was acting legally within its bounds. A similar appeal was made by the Catholics of Prince Edward Island against the school act passed by the legislature of that province in 1877, with a similar result. Clearly it is no easy matter for a minority in any province to make good its case against the majority.

Then came the action of Manitoba in 1890, when its legislature abolished the dual board of education and superintendency, and also established a single public school system instead of the dual system which had up to that time existed by law. A third time the minority sought redress, declaring that the Manitoba legislation in effect compelled Catholics to attend Protestant schools. This time the contention met with approval. The Privy Council decided that the minority had a grievance, and that it was competent for the Dominion Parliament to grant relief. Proceeding on that basis Sir C. Tupper introduced into the House of Commons in 1896 a Remedial Act restoring to the minority in Manitoba their separate schools. It seems certain that, if the Parliament had not dissolved by the efflux of time, the act would, in spite of the violent antagonism of the majority in Manitoba, have become law. But the country at large was against it, and the Conservative party met defeat at the polls.

The minority had a grievance, acknowledged by the highest court in the Empire, and championed by the Dominion Parliament. Admit that Sir Wilfrid was right in attributing to the Conservative government an amazing lack of tact, and you must still say that its case was strong. Yet its reception by

the people of Canada will make it hazardous for any government ever again to put in motion sub-section 4 of clause 93.

11. Conclusion. So we reach our point that the unquestionable rights, which a minority has under the constitution, are scantily safeguarded by the letter of the constitution. If a province deliberately and by express legislation determines on a given course, it is difficult even to the point of danger for the Dominion Government to interfere. What is a prime minister, convinced that the constitution lays upon him the obligation to secure the minority in its educational rights, and aware, also, that a conflict between central and local authorities must be shunned, what is he, placed between these two fires, to do? Is he weakly to say that the course of events has deprived him of the power to redeem the pledge embedded in the constitution? Or will he, as far as he can, confirm the rights of the minority in the act which gives the new province existence? To me there can be only one reply.

12. Our Present Duty. One word more as to our present duty. Neither a minority nor a province has any divine rights. Appeal must in the end be made, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier said in 1896, "to the laws of eternal truth and justice, on which alone nations can be founded"; appeal must be made to the spirit of the constitution, which Canadians at least may not with impunity violate. We cannot invite a minority into confederation on one plea, and insist that they continue in confederation on another. If there is to be any change of base, both majority and minority must consent. What we ultimately achieve must be achieved through the union of French and English, Protestant and Catholic, and not by division. It is that fact which for many Canadians gives politics in Canada their deepest significance. In working out their destiny under this condition Canadians flatter themselves that they are adding their contribution to the larger politics of mankind. They dare to hope that in this respect they may be an object-lesson to the nations, and towards the realization of this hope they seek steadily to move.

In 1865 Sir E. Taché said that he believed that the war of races was closed in 1841, when French and English were placed on an equal footing in the constitution. In 1864 D'Arcy

McGee had said that "we have not amongst us bigotry of classes or bigotry of race, or the belief that no good could come out of Nazareth or any religion but their own." (Gray's Confederation, pp. 101-2.) These words are echoed by every outstanding statesman of that day. To those who have lived long enough to remember the years immediately succeeding confederation, and can recall the religious disturbances of the time, the wish seems to be father to the thought for these men. But we are apt to forget that they, too, had a past on which they could look back equally with ourselves, and as they, looking backward, saw the subsidence of bitterness and virulence of feeling, they could say with truth that race-warfare was buried in 1841. It is to the credit of Canada that we have since then buried it more than once; but we would be blind indeed if we did not see that it is now only the ghost of what it was. At the time of confederation the word most frequently on the lips of our politicians was the honourable word "compromise." But this word, may we not think? has had its day, and now the true word is not compromise but union. In such a union racial and religious differences will not be crushed or smuggled out of sight, but fully accepted. No school system failing to combine these elements in some way can in Canada claim to be called "national." But a school which is genuinely national will come only if Protestant and Catholic seek to diminish the space which still divides them. At this juncture it devolves on the intelligent representatives of both sides to make the present unrest a means to a closer approximation. Several Protestant denominations are now acting conjointly to secure more adequate biblical instruction in the schools. Why should Catholics not announce their purpose to run along side of and even outstrip their Protestant compatriots in the so-called secular branches? So once more across a lessening chasm they and we would join hands, as our fathers did in the days of auld lang syne, and together work out a national school, which would be not a compromise or a product of deep-seated disagreements, but the fulfilment of the highest hopes of a united people.

S. W. DYDE.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY.

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which meets every year to pass under review the entire work of the Church, met last month in Queen's University, enjoying the unequalled accommodation of Grant Hall, with the adjacent class-rooms. This year a special interest attached to the work of the University and its connection with the Church ; indeed, it might almost be called a "Queen's Assembly", as one subject of outstanding importance was the condition and prospects of Queen's, for whose fuller endowment the Church is securing an additional half million dollars. The work of raising this amount is already in progress, and Presbyterians have sufficient faith in the perseverance of the saints to be confident of its successful completion.

Many members of the Assembly expressed their surprise at the magnitude of Queen's. They had heard of recent expansion, of increased attendance, of new and stately buildings, of the home contributed by the city of Kingston for the Arts Faculty, of the accommodation provided by the Provincial Government for the School of Mining and Engineering, of the erection of Grant Memorial Hall by the students in their affectionate loyalty to their lost leader ; they had heard of these things, but when they saw them they confessed that until then they had not realized the extent and progress of the University ; that, as with the Queen of Sheba, the half had not been told them. This admission on the part of prominent and well-informed members of Assembly, who had heard and read descriptions of the "Queen's of To-day", suggests how difficult it is to get the great mass of Presbyterians, not to speak of Canadians in general, to form an adequate idea of the growth of Queen's. But the local habitation of the University is only the outward and visible sign of its life and spirit, for Queen's, as was remarked by various speakers at the Assembly, stands for a type of education, some call it the Scottish type, which it is claimed is maintained there, at least as an ideal, more fully than anywhere else on this continent.

It is becoming increasingly clear that no Canadian University can afford to neglect the higher and spiritual life of the students. To do so is to forfeit the confidence of those whose support is best worth having. Whether the University be maintained by Provincial Government or by private benefaction, some effort must be made in connection with it in this direction. If there be no provision in its constitution for the spiritual training of the students, then individual professors will try to supply the need, or the students will charge themselves with it along Y. M. C. A. lines. One of the staff of the Provincial University, who was a member of the Assembly, delighted his hearers by the statement that he regularly conducts a large class in the University for the instruction of students in the English Bible. Various means may be adopted for securing the desired end, but certainly some way must be found in each University for promoting the spiritual life of the students. To ignore this is to offer only a one-sided training, and it is claimed that for this fuller type and ideal of education Queen's has a great advantage in having the Theological department as an integral part of the University, thus touching the life of the great body of students directly through their fellow-students.

Hitherto the maintenance of Queen's has been provided for not by the large benefactions of the rich, but by the moderate gifts of many contributors. In large donations from wealthy friends Queen's is not only far behind McGill, into whose coffers money has been poured with lavish liberality, but she is also far behind Victoria, for whereas Queen's has two endowed chairs, one to the amount of \$40,000, and another to the amount of nearly \$25,000, Victoria has for some time had eleven chairs with separate endowments varying from \$20,000 to \$60,000, and aggregating over \$400,000, and has recently secured, as with the easy touch of a magician's wand, some \$300,000 additional endowment. Yet the demands upon Victoria are considerably less than those made upon Queen's. On the other hand, it may be asked, where is the University in Canada that could place upon its walls memorial tablets, such as those in Queen's Convocation Hall, to the many benefactors who on different occasions aided her endowment,—in one case 500, in another 2,500, in another 6,000—or that could point

to such a gift from its students as Grant Memorial Hall?

The development of Queen's has been along national lines, with the ideal of national service, and with the breadth of outlook and purpose befitting a national university. Those who advocated her separation from the Church argued that this development would be more secure if all Church connection were severed. It is gratifying, however, to see that the Presbyterian Church, which is itself so truly national in its aims and efforts,—as is shown, for instance, in its Home Mission work,—has no desire to check this national development of Queen's. As is noted in the University reports presented in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*, the Assembly unanimously agreed to give to the University Council, which represents the great body of graduates, increased representation on the Board of Trustees. With its present Church connection, no change can be made in the constitution of Queen's without the consent of the General Assembly, but the Assembly cordially assented to this proposed change, recognizing that it is in the line of the University's growth and fitted to promote its larger usefulness.

What should be the connection between the Churches and the University system of our country is not yet by any means clear. Indeed, no uniform solution of the problem need be sought, for the answer must vary with circumstances. The Church, however, in seeking to promote the spiritual life of the country, should try to influence its higher learning, and the universities, as founts of higher learning, cannot afford to ignore the spiritual life of those within their walls. The Churches and the universities should be at one in their aim to lift the people above the mere material and commercial spirit, and, in view of the rapid development of our industrial resources, should work all the more strenuously and harmoniously to promote the higher life, both intellectual and spiritual, for it is true of the nation, as of the individual, that its life consists not in the abundance of that which it has, but in the abundance of that which it is.

D. M. G.

CURRENT EVENTS.

PARTY CRITICISM FROM WITHIN.

THE discussion of the educational clauses in the bills for the erection of the new Provinces in the North-West, has given rise to a number of collateral questions, sacred and secular. Among those on the secular side is the problem as to how far an individual or a newspaper may carry its criticism of the party whose general policy it supports, without feeling obliged to aid in the defeat of the party at the time of an election. In attempting a definite and intelligent discussion of such an issue, certain general principles must be set forth, which may or may not obtain general assent. In the first place, it seems necessary to maintain that, even under a party system of government, in order to have the business of the country carried on, a certain continuity of executive policy and administration is indispensable. It is, therefore, not desirable that there should be a shifting of the executive government from one set of hands to another, as often as any question comes up on which the views of those holding the executive power are not in agreement with a sufficient section of their own party to accomplish its defeat, when united with the opposition. It is, indeed, quite likely that no single policy on the greater number of important subjects could command a perfectly frank and independent majority on the basis of complete agreement. Agreement in opposition to any policy does not imply agreement in support of any other given policy. But the government of a country is a positive and not a negative matter. Politics, as well as religion, friendship, and an endless variety of practical interests, implies a certain degree of compromise. There must be a general agreement on certain radical lines of policy, and a general understanding, without specific limitations, to be governed by the views of the majority for the time being, on minor issues. On such an understanding there is ample range for free discussion and independent criticism, leading to true growth of ideas and expansion of policy, while stability of political organization

is preserved. In proportion, however, as such freedom and independence are denied, by either friends or opponents, party organization tends to become hidebound, and its adherents merely blind partizans.

It is true that a limited number of persons in a community may discharge a very useful function by standing aloof from all parties and bringing the whole weight of their influence to the assistance of those who advocate that policy on any subject of which they approve. But they will as freely and completely turn their influence against the same parties on any other subject on which their policy does not command the agreement of the independents. However, not only is this a difficult position for the ordinary man to maintain, but the virtue of such persons, or such organs of public opinion, necessarily depends upon their being limited in number, since from people of such a character no stable organization could be formed for the carrying out of a general legislative and executive programme. However permanent might be the agreement between a number of perfectly independent persons, on one or two subjects, it is practically impossible that such an agreement should extend to all important subjects. Hence, co-operation could continue only on the basis of compromise. But this simply brings us back to the formation of a new political party. And since the executive government, in an extensive country, must command the support of a majority of the people, it is quite obvious that a party sufficiently strong in numbers and organization to undertake the government, must involve a great deal of practical compromise and acceptance of rule by majority, even where that means, as it usually does, control by a limited number of minds. But, wherever the differences with one's party become so radical that one must lose more in supporting it in power than in bringing in its opponents, it is plainly one's duty not only to criticize the policy of the party but to vote it out of office. Nothing could be more dangerous, politically, than that the leaders of a party should be able to command its normal following so completely as to carry measures which are opposed to the honest convictions of the majority of their followers, on the ground that they can be counted upon to sacrifice their convictions for the sake of maintaining the party in power.

In other words, a party organization is a very necessary instrument for the carrying on of government in a democratic state, and, in consequence, this instrument must be maintained in efficient form. But the limit of the sacrifice of personal conviction to efficient organization, is the point at which the support of the party involves the frustration of the very objects for the accomplishment of which it is worth maintaining. Of that point each individual must be judge for himself.

THE BRITISH FINANCIAL OUTLOOK.

A paper lately read before the British Institute of Bankers by Mr. Edgar Speyer, of the great financial house of Speyer and Company, dealing with the national finances, is of special interest, not only to Britain itself, but to the whole Empire. We have heard a good deal, of recent years, about the burden of Empire and the necessity for the Colonies coming to the aid of the Mother Country to assist her in bearing it. Nevertheless, the most ample evidence is always at hand, that the actual burden of empire for Britain has been gradually diminishing within the last half century, while the burden of her own domestic interests has been more or less steadily increasing. The real burden of empire in these days—the burden which Britain used to bear before she learned imperial wisdom—is now borne by Germany and France, and that, too, without a word of complaint, except from a few financial experts, but with a certain feverish anxiety to increase the load. Here, too, however, we have the plainest evidence of fact that these countries enjoy all the expense and Britain nearly all the profit from these same dominions. Fashion is as powerful a factor among nations as among individuals, and no power aspiring to occupy the first rank can forego, even at ruinous expense, the luxurious distinction of maintaining dominion over some savage or semi-barbarous colonies. Many Britons, it is true, realize the distinction of being hereditary aristocrats in this respect, and swell with a new pride as they think of their extensive colonial possessions and how they might be put in a new livery and paraded before Europe in a manner to make the German Emperor chameleon coloured with alternate envy and despair. However, apart from her South African policy, it is not her

colonial but her domestic expenditure which of recent years has has been increasing at such an astonishing rate.

What Mr. Speyer points out, with exceptional knowledge and ample evidence, is that the nation is rapidly developing an individual, municipal and national extravagance, which is all the more ominous that it is so unintelligent and reckless. The *Economist* and other well informed and responsible journals have been preaching on this same text for some years past, but apparently to deaf ears. The demoralizing influence of personal extravagance upon moral and social life does not appear to be confined to any one class. There has been an apparent decline in the old self-reliance and steady reserve power which for so long characterized the British people. They have grown much more self-conscious and hysterical, with vague fears as to the passing of their power. This feeling has become the basis of a new political movement which confessedly aims at inducing the nation to neglect its own experience and follow the example of other nations, regardless of the widest differences in conditions. No longer is the nation to keep pace with its own needs and experience, striking out new and characteristic pathways for itself; it must imitate blindly the fashions set by its neighbours. Undoubtedly these evidences of national weakness are as yet only partial and sectional, but they are none the less marked. The appeal to the colonies for assistance, not with imperial but with national burdens, or fancied burdens, is itself highly significant, especially as it emanates, for the most part, from the same element which encourages extravagance at home, and the search for a national model abroad.

In the meantime, as Mr. Speyer points out, the increasing extravagance of the individual citizens, of the municipal corporations, and of the national government, is having the effect of curtailing the efficiency of the national investments, the increase of the national capital, and the productive power of the people. While the foreign trade of the country, as regards both exports and imports, has been steadily increasing for the past four years, the internal economy of the nation has not been at all in so wholesome a condition. It is quite evident, therefore, that so long as attention is diverted from needful domestic reforms, and remedies for internal evils are sought in

the recasting of foreign and colonial trade relations, while relief from national extravagance is sought in the winning of colonial subsidies, the outlook for a healthy national recuperation is not promising. Under a continuation of such conditions what is at present only a dangerous tendency might become a permanent feature of national weakness.

THE EXPOSURE OF WAR.

Fortunately for the cause of civilization and the continued diffusion of a Christian and humanitarian sentiment, that spiritual opiate, so often administered in the sweetmeat of poetry, which presents the idealizing and morally regenerating influence of war, has of late been subject to exposure in a very matter of fact manner. Few have any longer the courage to claim for war that it is a cathartic of all that is sordid and mean and materializing in human life. The yellow journalist was the poet laureate of the Spanish-American war, and now one of its most dramatic heroes is the strenuous advocate of international peace. No poet, not even Kipling, has had the hardihood to sing South Africa with its sequel of Chinese compounds, not to mention later scandals. No stately epic clarifies our moral vision with scenes from that crusade of modern European chivalry against the sordid heathen of Pekin. And we are probably safe in saying that no Russian or European poet will celebrate the self-devoted though unfortunate valour of a civilized and christian Russia, in its attempts to plant a barrier against the western inroads of the tawny hosts of barbarous and heathen Japan.

War was doubtless in no small measure a stimulus to spiritual activity, and even to national development, so long as it was based upon personal prowess and associated with religion. Then the warrior had no doubt that he was fighting in the company and for the ultimate glory of his gods. In modern times, however, scarcely the most militant christian has a faith so robust as to maintain that even the First Person of the Trinity can delight in the incense which rises from the carnage heaps of a modern battle field. It is indeed doubtful, in view of the world's comments on Doggerbank episodes, peaceful missions to Tibet, and military recreations in the Philip-pines, whether we shall be able to accept Mr. Kipling's defense

of war as the "noblest sport of man." There is undoubtedly much to be said for the position that the nobler the victim the nobler the sport. There is little satisfaction in killing sparrows, while gorilla hunting is understood to be rather exciting sport, and killing blacks in the Congo State was found to be even better. Still, hunting is not the incentive to poetry which it once was, and if, in spite of the pulpit efforts of the German Kaiser, war should lose the support of religion, it will be difficult for Kiplingism, itself apparently on the wane, to arrest its spiritual decline at the plane of sport.

Another fact which militates against the sporting justification for modern war, is the radical alteration in the relationship of the combatants, from earlier to modern times. One can imagine the excitement of the older hand-to-hand combat, the exhilaration of a cavalry charge, and the supreme satisfaction of actually hewing down your man, or running him through some vital region with a bayonet. That, presumably, was something worth while, and is doubtless the kind of sport which Mr. Kipling has in mind when he names it the noblest of all. But in modern warfare there is very little of even that left. It is too slow and tedious. It may be fighting, but it is not war. Under the more typical modern scientific methods of the Russo-Japanese war, the field operations appear to very much resemble navvying on a railroad, or opening a coal mine, but with enormously increased casualties from the handling of explosives. Naval warfare, also, has lost all its picturesque features, and a modern naval battle is merely an encounter between a number of floating machine shops, with enormous capacity for mere destruction of life and property. But there is in this decidedly no sportsmanship for any one, on either sea or land. What sportsman could take pleasure in bringing home a cart load of the mangled fragments of a herd of deer blown to pieces, a mile or more away, by cordite shells; or what sport is there in gathering up some hundreds of dead fish as the result of exploding a dynamite cartridge under water?

No; war, having lost its religious sanction, and having ceased to be either barbarous or brutal, for these are primitive and, in comparison with modern operations, innocent phases of mutual homicide, and having become too business-like a

butchery for even sport, must be recognized as having reached the last prosaic stages of mere passionless destruction of life and its resources. It has practically achieved the limit of commonplace hideousness, which when duly realized will end all applause of it. And when war ceases to win applause, it will speedily be discovered that it is quite as convenient to settle disputes before war as after it, while it involves much less sacrifice of justice.

A. SHORTT.

THE UNIVERSITY.

REPORTS, SESSION 1904-05.

| | 1903-04. | 1904-05. |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| Undergraduates in Arts (attending)..... | 816 | 808 |
| General Students in Arts (attending)..... | 26 | 27 |
| Post-Graduates in Arts (attending)..... | 81 | 24 |
| Undergraduates in Arts (extra-mural)..... | 144 | 189 |
| Post-Graduates in Arts (extra-mural)..... | 9 | 14 |
| Students in Theology..... | 38 | 38 |
| Students in Practical Science | 143 | 162 |
| Students in Medicine..... | 216 | 208 |
| | <hr/> 928 | <hr/> 980 |
| | 26 | 28 |
| | <hr/> 897 | <hr/> 957 |
| Increase over preceding year..... | 44 | 60 |

DEGREES CONFERRED.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| In Arts (B.A., 62; M.A., 24)..... | 86 |
| In Practical Science (B.Sc.)..... | 24 |
| In Medicine (M.D., O.M.) | 44 |
| In Theology (Testamurs, 4; B.D., 5)..... | 9 |
| | <hr/> 168 |

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR ENDING APRIL 1ST, 1905.

| REVENUE. | |
|--|-------------------|
| Fees | \$28,011 84 |
| Interest on Mortgages | 21,208 71 |
| Interest on Bonds, Debentures, etc. | 5,744 86 |
| Interest on Jubilee Fund Subscriptions..... | 2,244 92 |
| John Roberts Allan—Chair of Botany | 150 00 |
| Rent of Carruthers Hall and Mechanical Laboratory..... | 1,125 00 |
| Rent of Lands..... | 182 25 |
| Wm. Mackenzie, Assistant Professorship..... | 1,200 00 |
| Observatory—Grant from Government..... | 500 00 |
| General Assembly's College Fund— | |
| Church Agents..... | \$3,507 44 |
| Congregations contributing direct. | 818 80 |
| | <hr/> 8,325 74 |
| Chancellor's Lectureship..... | 250 00 |
| Receipt of Scholarships..... | 2,635 00 |
| Balance, accumulated deficiency | \$10,907 90 |
| Deficit for year..... | 788 98 |
| | <hr/> 11,696 88 |
| | <hr/> \$78,724 15 |

| EXPENDITURE. | |
|--|-------------|
| Deficiency of former years | \$10,907 90 |
| Salaries, Professors and Lecturers in Theology | 9,335 15 |
| Salaries, Professors and Tutors in Arts | 29,754 97 |

THE UNIVERSITY.

79

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Salaries, other officers | \$ 5,210 75 |
| Chancellor's Lectureship | 250 00 |
| Church Agents, Commission on Collection for General Assembly | |
| College Fund | 60 00 |
| Insurance | 416 39 |
| Improvements and Repairs | 4,172 56 |
| Travelling Expenses | 872 65 |
| Printing and Stationery | 2,243 45 |
| Contingencies | 612 61 |
| Advertising | 106 40 |
| Legal Expenses, Commissions on Loans and Collections | 552 69 |
| Athletics | 750 00 |
| Biological Laboratory | 438 00 |
| Furniture | 155 09 |
| Fuel and Light | 2,657 00 |
| Library | 2,200 00 |
| Taxes | 84 96 |
| Mining School Fees | 807 98 |
| Scholarships | 2,635 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$78,724 15 |

G. Y. CHOWN, Secretary-Treasurer.

Examined and found correct.

D. MURRAY, Auditor.

May 10, 1905.

GYMNASIUM FUND.

| | |
|---|------------|
| April 2, 1904—Amount paid to date | \$2,785 07 |
| Cash | 25 00 |
| Interest on amount | 140 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | \$2,950 07 |

WILLIAMSON MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND.

| | |
|---|------------|
| April 2, 1904—Amount paid to date | \$3,469 26 |
| Cash | 10 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | \$3,479 26 |

"01" FELLOWSHIP FUND.

| | |
|--|------------|
| April 2, 1904—Amounts paid to date | \$1,000 00 |
| Sundry subscriptions | 269 48 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | \$1,269 45 |

DEAN FOWLER SCHOLARSHIP FUND.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| Amounts paid to date | \$865 00 |
|----------------------------|----------|

CHAIR OF CHURCH HISTORY.

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Amount previously acknowledged | \$23,450 52 |
| Sundry subscriptions raised to date | 74 40 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | \$23,524 90 |

*QUEEN'S QUARTERLY.***MC DOWELL MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP FUND.**

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Amounts paid to date | \$530 00 |
| Cash | 8 00 |
| Interest | 26 00 |
| Total..... | <u>\$559 00</u> |

DORAN BEQUEST.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Amount previously acknowledged..... | \$22,384 81 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|

ENDOWMENT JOHN STEWART BURSARY.

| | |
|--------------------------|------------|
| From Jas. Dingwall | \$5,000 00 |
|--------------------------|------------|

ENDOWMENT FUND.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Sundry subscriptions paid to date..... | \$1,459 66 |
| Sundry payments..... | 1,282 16 |
| Balance..... | <u>\$177 50</u> |

CHAIR IN BOTANY.

| | |
|--|------------|
| J. Roberts Allan, Esq., of Ottawa, paid Endowment on which he had previously been paying interest..... | \$3,000 00 |
|--|------------|

CENTURY FUND OF THEOLOGICAL FACULTY.

| | |
|--|----------|
| Received from Dr. Warden share of balance of fund..... | \$893 38 |
|--|----------|

GRANT HALL.

Grant Hall, the splendid memorial erected by the students to him who, more than any other, was the maker of Queen's of to-day, was opened and dedicated early in the session. The Chancellor presided, receiving the gift of the building from the students through their representative, the Rev. James Wallace, and acknowledging it in the name of the University. Other addresses were delivered bearing specially upon the occasion, followed by the inaugural of Professor Macnaughton, who had returned to us from Montreal to fill the chair of Church History.

CONVOCATIONS.

The Convocation on April 7th, at which degrees in Medicine were conferred, was made specially memorable by the visit of His Excellency Earl Grey, the Right Honourable Lord Strathcona, and Prof. Kirkpatrick, Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, on each of whom the degree of LL.D. was conferred. The day was

bright, with "Queen's" weather. The Hall, which His Excellency characterized as the finest Academic Hall he had ever seen, was filled with an enthusiastic audience, the students occupying the spacious galleries and enlivening the proceedings with songs in the intervals between the addresses. The Governor-General delighted his hearers, and seemed equally with them. Our honoured Chancellor presided, the crowning moment of the day's proceedings being when he and Lord Strathcona, Canada's two "grand old men", and friends of nearly a life-time, stood with clasped hands, as the one in name of the University recognized the eminent services rendered by the other to the Dominion and to the Empire. It was a notable occasion, this first Convocation in Grant Hall.

By comparison the Convocation on April 26th, for conferring degrees in Arts, Science and Theology, seemed somewhat tame, and yet, with the exception of the gathering of the 7th, this was the largest assemblage ever seen at a Convocation in Queen's, for never before had we such abundant accommodation. On this occasion the degree of D.D. was conferred on Rev. J. R. Battsby, Ph.D., of Chatham; Rev. Eber Crummy, B.A., B.Sc., of Kingston; and Rev. James Fleck, B.A., of Montreal; and the degree of LL.D. on D. D. McBean, Esq., of New York; and John L. Bray, M.D., of Chatham.

COURSES LEADING TO THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

The subjects from which any two might be selected, as subjects for examination on which the degree of Ph.D. would be given, have hitherto been Latin, Greek, German, Romance Languages, English, History, Moral Philosophy, Mental Philosophy, Political Science. To these have recently been added Old Testament Language and Literature and New Testament Language and Literature. In regard to these, candidates must comply with one of the following conditions:

1. If they offer themselves for the degree of Ph.D. in any two of the Arts subjects, they must have previously taken the degree of M.A. in those subjects, or must satisfy the Senate of their ability to proceed with the course.
2. If they offer themselves for the degree of Ph.D. in one of the Arts subjects, and either Old Testament Language and Literature or New Testament Language and Literature, they must have previously obtained

the degree of M.A. or B.A. with First Class Honours in the Arts subject chosen, have completed their course in Theology, and have passed the examination in half of the course for B.D.

8. If they offer themselves for the degree of Ph.D. in Old Testament Language and Literature, and New Testament Language and Literature, they must have previously taken an Arts degree and the degree of B.A.

Details regarding the courses to be prescribed in O.T. and N.T. Language and Literature are not yet ready for publication.

THE ENDOWMENT FUND.

The graduates and friends of the University are naturally interested in the movement for securing additional endowment.

Since the close of the Session the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church held its annual meeting in Grant Hall (June 7-14), and the statements submitted to the Assembly regarding the University dealt fully with the new Endowment Fund.

It will be remembered that the Assembly of 1904, which met at St. John, N.B., appointed a large and representative committee to co-operate with the Trustees in securing half a million dollars of additional Endowment. Conferences of this Committee and the Board of Trustees were held on the 1st and 26th of September; an Executive Committee was appointed; plans were framed for presenting the matter to Presbyteries and congregations. The University Council offered the aid of their organization, and are represented on the Executive. In different sections committees were appointed to secure the assistance not only of the members of the Presbyterian Church, but of the graduates and friends of Queen's generally. As the work opened out it was found that information regarding Queen's was greatly needed throughout the country, and must be furnished before any large or widespread response could be expected to the appeal for aid. Steps were taken to provide this through public addresses and the distribution of literature, but probably the late meeting of the General Assembly within Grant Hall will prove the most powerful agency for acquainting the Presbyterian Church and the country at large with Queen's. Thus far, including payments and promises, something over \$130,000 have been secured, but this alone does not represent in full the work already done in seed-sowing, in spreading in-

formation, in securing new friends, and in preparing the way for active canvass.

After receiving the report of the Endowment Committee, the General Assembly unanimously and cordially passed the following resolution :—

The Assembly, recognizing with thankfulness the increasing service which Queen's is rendering to the Church and to the whole country, and deeply impressed with the possibilities for ever greater usefulness,

(1) expresses its satisfaction at the considerable progress already made ;

(2) repeats its conviction that half a million dollars are needed in order that the University may cope with the demands of its steadily growing numbers ;

(3) urges upon the Committee immediate prosecution of the canvass, not only within the three Central Synods, but amongst all the graduates and friends of Queen's ;

(4) re-appoints the Committee with power to add to its number ;

(5) deeply sensible of the gravity and magnitude of the undertaking, it approves of the appointment of a special agent of the Fund, and expresses its satisfaction that the Rev. Robert Laird, of Vancouver, has consented to devote himself to this work.

It is hoped that the Endowment movement will make rapid progress now that the undivided services of Mr. Laird have been secured. He is an enthusiastic son of Queen's, already known to many of her friends and graduates, as well as throughout the Presbyterian Church, and it is confidently expected that he will elicit a liberal response in many quarters in aid of the fuller equipment of the University.

ADDITIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE COUNCIL.

When the report of the Trustees was considered by the General Assembly, a resolution was passed containing the following clause :

"The Assembly, in accordance with its resolutions of last year, approves of the proposal of the Trustees to provide for the appointment by the University Council of five additional members of the Board of Trustees."

This is, perhaps, the strongest possible evidence that the Church, while maintaining her old-time connection with the University, and endeavouring to vitalize that connection so as to make it more largely helpful, has no desire to restrict the freedom of the University or to check its development along national lines, but seeks rather to give the fullest recognition to the whole body of graduates. It may, perhaps, be inexpedient

to seek immediately the legislation necessary to give effect to the Assembly's decision, as there may be some other changes not yet considered but requiring legislation that could be secured at the same time. The Board, however, will not be slow to carry out its own proposal, thus to extend to the University Council, as representing the entire body of graduates, a larger measure of control in the affairs of the University,

THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

Last summer Prof. McComb resigned the chair of Church History. The Trustees appointed in his place Professor Macnaughton, who had for some years filled the Greek chair in Queen's, but had for a year given his services to McGill. Both professors and students were glad to welcome him back to a place on the staff.

Owing to the demands of the Endowment Fund upon his time, the Principal was relieved of the work of his class, his place being taken by the Rev. Dr. Macrae, formerly Principal of Morrin College, Quebec. Dr. Macrae's services were highly appreciated by the Theological classes. It is a great pleasure to report that Prof. Jordan has been able to carry on all the work of his classes during the past session, and, although his health is not yet completely restored, we hope that he is in the way of rapid and permanent recovery. The work of Rev. Mr. Carruthers, Lecturer in Elocution, was appreciated by the Theological students, as well as by the large classes conducted by him in connection with the department of English Literature.

During the past year there were thirty-three students in attendance on the various Theological classes, and four post-graduate students engaged in special studies, in all thirty-seven. In addition to the ordinary work of the classes, and in order to provide some special instruction in the organization and direction of Sabbath schools and in the training of Sabbath school teachers, a course of lectures was given by Mr. Marion Lawrence, Secretary of the International S.S. Association, Rev. Eber Crummy, and Prof. Macnaughton.

The Alumni Conference, which has special attractions for the Theological students, was held during the past session in the first week of November instead of being held as formerly

in February. The change of date proved so convenient to many that it was determined to adhere to it, and already an excellent programme has been provided for the Conference to be held at the opening of the Theological classes next November. For those who attend regularly this annual Alumni Conference serves in some measure the purpose of a valuable post-graduate course.

REPORT OF THE DEAN OF THE MEDICAL FACULTY.

The report of the Faculty of Medicine showed that the registration for the year was 209. The combined course in Arts and Medicine is becoming more popular, as eight students previously registered for the Medical course alone entered upon the combined course. There were 33 Arts graduates registered. Forty-five candidates received the degrees of M.D. and C.M.

The total fees paid during the year amounted to \$19,228.50. This does not include the graduation fees paid to the Registrar.

Last summer the building was much improved. The students have taken greater care in keeping the building in a sanitary state. The spitting habit had been largely discontinued, as it is now an offence against the laws of the students' society.

The Faculty room was renovated and its meetings are now held there in place of the Senate room. All the leading medical publications are on file in the Faculty room.

The library has been moved into a larger room and new shelving provided. Many additions have been made to it during the year.

Some changes in the work of the staff were rendered necessary by the retirement of Dr. Sullivan at the New Year. Dr. Mundell is now Professor of Surgery. Dr. Ryan has assumed the teaching of Applied Anatomy in conjunction with his usual clinics at the Hotel Dieu. Dr. Mylks is Professor of Anatomy, and Dr. Etherington is Lecturer and Chief Demonstrator of Anatomy.

The death of Dr. Herald has created a vacancy in Clinical Medicine which will not be easy to fill. Some division of the clinical work is likely to be made, but the changes have not yet been determined.

The increased clinical facilities at Rockwood Hospital have been much appreciated by the students. New clinics were conducted by Dr. Campbell at the General Hospital, and by Dr. Morrison at the Hotel Dieu.

Mr. J. M. McIntyre supplemented the course in Jurisprudence by three lectures on that part of the subject most familiar to the lawyer. The advantage to the student was obvious, and it is hoped Mr. McIntyre may repeat the lectures from year to year.

The appointment of Dr. Etherington to give all his time to teaching Anatomy has proved very satisfactory. When not engaged in teaching Dr. Etherington has devoted his time to the preparation of permanent dissections and specimens. These are very valuable and will save a great deal of the time of the Demonstrators. Already about fifty permanent preparations are in the anatomical museum, and many others are in course of preparation. The department of Anatomy is now second to none in the country.

The Trustees have agreed to an endowment for the chair of Anatomy, or, rather, Animal Morphology, as the Professor will teach comparative as well as human anatomy. Forty thousand dollars is the sum required, and the Faculty is hopeful that this amount will be secured within the next few years.

The Government of Ontario, at the close of the past session, voted a large amount towards a new hospital in Toronto, in order to improve the clinical teaching in the Medical School of the University. As this involves a departure from the policy of the government in the past, the Medical Faculty have asked for consideration of the work done in Queen's for medical education, and they are hopeful that substantial aid will be given to the scientific side of the work. The teaching of medicine has gradually become more and more expensive, until now it is impossible to maintain the required efficiency out of the fees of the students. Government assistance may very properly be given for those departments closely connected with public health and requiring expensive laboratories and the full time of expert professors.

REPORT OF DEAN OF PRACTICAL SCIENCE.

The Faculty of Practical Science for the first few years of its existence concerned itself altogether, or very largely, with such subjects as belong distinctively to the profession of Mining Engineering, and it is still, and must remain, a mining school, laying particular stress upon all subjects cognate to mining ; and we may reasonably expect that the number of students entering its halls for the purpose of receiving a mining education will increase from year to year.

But, in America at least, mining has been, to a considerable extent, a pioneer profession, and as any section of the country became developed, first through its mining interests, and later on through its agricultural and commercial ones, the other departments of engineering have gradually overshadowed that of mining in their importance. And Canada will prove to be no exception to this general principle. On the opening up of the great west to agriculture and manufactures and commerce, the future demands, for many years to come, must be for engineers of construction along the lines of steam and electrical railways, bridges and viaducts, water supply and irrigation, manufacturing establishments and machine shops, &c., &c. And the School of Mining is already feeling the effect of this new and growing environment, and, as must be the case with any living and growing institution in a progressive country, is responding to it. This is clearly shown by the fact that out of 162 students properly belonging to the School, only 56 are preparing for mining engineers, while the balance of 106 are devoting themselves to other engineering courses, principally civil and electrical engineering.

This is as it should be, and as some of us have all along hoped and expected that it might be. In fact, the profession of the mining engineer calls pretty extensively upon other departments of engineering, and the school which is best equipped all round is in the best condition to give a good mining education.

But it is not practicable that a school should have an all-round equipment if it gives itself and its chief interests solely to mining, or in fact unless it is actually doing complete work and

plenty of it along the other cognate lines. As a consequence, I think that we must be prepared to face the problem of making the school strong in every part instead of strengthening it in one part at the expense or neglect of another.

This is the policy which has characterized the operations of the past year ; for the Civil Engineering department has been strengthened by the appointment of two men of wide and varied engineering experience, and the Mechanical Engineering has been made more efficient by the assistance of a specialist qualified in that particular department.

And it is quite proper, I think, to look forward to the time when the teacher of Mechanical Engineering, instead of being, as he is now, an assistant to the professor of Electrical Engineering, shall have full charge of his department and be held responsible for it.

Of course the 162 students referred to as properly belonging to the School of Mines does not include all the students in attendance. For students in both Arts and Medicine have to take their chemistry, their mineralogy, their geology and their physics at the School of Mining. These number about 183, and their fees constitute an important part of the revenue of the School.

Some of the subjects, especially chemistry, have very large classes, and it is quite difficult, if not impracticable, to accommodate a whole class at once, especially as the class is apt to contain students from the three faculties, Arts, Medicine and Practical Science, at the same time.

It appears to me that the feasible way out of the difficulty would be, not to attempt to enlarge the room, which is already quite commodious, but to divide the class into sections depending upon the character and need of their special pursuits. Thus the medicals might be taken by themselves, and so also might the arts. This has been done in the department of mathematics, which has to deal with about 200 students in each session, and it has given eminent satisfaction.

Of course this requires an additional force, which must be supplemented by assistants or fellows, who might not be altogether as efficient as an older and experienced professor. But,

even then, with fairly good assistants, the work would be more satisfactorily done than by fewer and even better teachers with crowded and unwieldy classes.

Finally, I wish to say a few words in regard to the workshops, or mechanical laboratory. The shops have been and are of great use to the School, for besides doing their principal work of giving to the student a good knowledge of workshop practice in pattern making and machine work, they have within the past three years added more than a thousand dollars worth of apparatus and appliances to the departments.

Something practical should be done in the way of getting a more commodious blacksmith's shop, and in the near future we should look forward to having a small foundery for giving the requisite practical training in moulding and casting iron and brass.

The shops are open to all, and are carried on for the benefit of all the departments without discrimination, and not for the especial benefit of one, as might be the case if the head of a department should be in authority.

Respectfully submitted.

N. F. DUPUIS.

ANIMAL BIOLOGY.

The total registered attendance during the past session was 159. Of these 50 were registered in the pass class in Arts, 16 in Preliminary Honours, and 7 in Final Honours.

The attendance in the first year in Medicine was 41, and in the second year 45.

The attendance during the last seven weeks of the medical session, or, what is usually known as the eight months session, shows a satisfactory increase in numbers; but the work to be covered during this time by first year students is difficult to organize and harmonize with that of the rest of their course. If new work is begun with these students, it has to be repeated the following October with those students who are taking only a six months' course. It is apparent, therefore, that the time has come in which to require all medical students to put in the full eight months' session; and I hope a regulation to this effect will be passed by the Medical Faculty next year.

The new programme of study of the Ontario Education Department went into effect last August, and, as I pointed out in my last report, prominence is to be given to the study of both plants and animals in the Public and High schools of the province. It would be wise, therefore, for the Trustees to provide, as soon as possible, additional facilities for teaching Botany and Animal Biology. Chief among these should be the appointment of an assistant to Professor Fowler, who should, in addition, develop museum work by adding to its specimens and giving regular instruction in Systematic Zoology. Such an instructor should be a man who has been specially trained along this line of work. Some of the larger American universities—Chicago, Cornell, Harvard and Columbia—have devoted a great deal of attention to the education and training of teachers during the past few years; and if Queen's is to have a Faculty of Education, the quicker she shapes her plans towards this end the better for the country. The Mosely Commission pointed out that the separation of the academic from the professional training of teachers is a radical defect in our Ontario system of education. It is to be hoped that the government and the universities will co-operate in removing this defect at the earliest possible date.

Over eighteen months ago Principal Gordon, in conjunction with Dean Connell, organized a course of lectures on Hygiene, for the purpose of directing the attention of students to the necessity of caring for their health. It occurred to me last winter that I might co-operate in such a movement. Accordingly I gave a course of about 50 lectures upon Physiology and Personal Hygiene, and incorporated them with those of my pass class. The favourable reception which they met with has induced me to extend this course and offer it as an optional one next session. Accordingly, pass students in Arts will be allowed to take this class in Physiology, Hygiene and Sanitary Science in place of the one in Animal Morphology.

The appointment of a lecturer in Animal Morphology has given satisfaction. Dr. Etherington won the confidence of his students from the outset, and has applied himself to his work with energy and ability. As a result we may expect to see, in

a few sessions, a chair of Comparative Anatomy well organized and capably filled.

A. P. KNIGHT,
The John Roberts Professor of Animal Biology.

REPORT ON BOTANY.

| | |
|--|----|
| Students registered in Pass Class..... | 88 |
| Preliminary Honours..... | 12 |
| Medical Botany..... | 2 |
| Total..... | 47 |

A larger amount of practical work than usual was accomplished by the Pass Class during the session. Upwards of three thousand specimens were required for study, and the final examination was very satisfactory.

The Preliminary Honour Class required over 1,900 specimens, which they studied with sufficient care to be able to identify them at sight. The usual amount of Physiology was studied from the text-book, and a course of lectures on Ecology was delivered, which extended over the greater part of the session.

The Medical class was opened after the Christmas holidays, but owing to the lateness of the season it was impossible to secure as large a number of living specimens of algae, moulds, &c., as was desirable. A goodly number, however, were examined, and much time devoted to Morphology and Physiology. Henceforth the class must open at the beginning of the session, when living specimens can be procured.

In previous reports I have called attention to the fact that the method of teaching Botany in Colleges has been completely changed in late years. Instead of beginning with the most highly developed classes of plants, the new text-books begin with the practical study of the lowest classes, and follow the natural course of development to the highest forms. This course gives the student a much clearer idea of the course of development revealed in nature. It demands, however, a large amount of time to make the necessary collections and prepare the microscopic specimens for study. The Medical class also demands a large amount of the same kind of work. The experiments necessary for the practical study of Physiology also require much patience and perseverance for their development.

It seems unnecessary to say that it is utterly impossible for one person to accomplish the work required. The conservatory, now completed, is a valuable aid for the production and preservation of specimens, but it requires proper attention. The conducting of four classes, requiring so much laboratory work, is beyond the ability of any one individual. If we are to keep pace with other colleges and prepare teachers for the high schools, a capable assistant is absolutely necessary.

HERBARIUM.

A donation for the Herbarium was received from Alex. H. D. Ross, M.A., consisting of five hundred sheets of mounted plants, about two hundred unmounted, with a quantity of mounting paper and a large collection of nicely prepared specimens of wood. The latter would be very useful for teaching the differences between different kinds of wood if we had the necessary cases or shelves to display them. About 2,800 sheets of mounted plants have been added to the Herbarium during the past year. The preparing and arranging of these have demanded a large amount of my time.

Last year I left home the first week of June and spent the summer making collections at New River on the shores of the Bay of Fundy, at Sackville on the great marshes, at Shediac, and at Malpeque, P.E.I. I succeeded in securing a large number of marine algae and of sea coast plants, which add greatly to the value of the Herbarium.

JAMES FOWLER,
Professor of Botany.

REPORT OF LIBRARIAN.

The additions to the Library during the year 1904-05 were as follows:

| | | |
|-----------------|-------|---------|
| Purchased | 1,198 | volumes |
| Donated | 756 | " |
| Total..... | 1,949 | " |

The number of volumes purchased was less than during the last two or three years, owing to the purchase of small but valuable and extensive sets in different departments, including the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund, a set of the

Journal of Anatomy, a Corpus Scriptorum Graecorum, and the Codices Alexandrinus, Oxyrhinchus and others.

The work of the Library has been satisfactory, showing an increased inclination on the part of the students to avail themselves of the advantages offered. As this is the most important part of Library work, every effort is being made to render the books more accessible to the students, and every facility possible for the free use of them is allowed. The duplicate libraries in the Consulting Library in the new Arts Building are very insufficient and should be made much more extensive than is possible with the funds at the disposal of the Librarian. This room is in constant use during the session, and should have a far larger supply of material for consulting work. The work among the extra-mural students has very much increased, and a large addition of duplicate volumes for their use must be made in order not to interfere with the needs of the resident students.

The following summary of the financial statement is taken from the Auditor's report :

| | |
|--|------------|
| Balance to credit of Library, May 1st, 1904..... | \$ 444 47 |
| Received from Treasurer..... | 2,808 00 |
| Gifts, private accounts, etc..... | 179 77 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$2,982 24 |
| Expenditure | 2,291 67 |
| | <hr/> |
| Balance..... | \$641 57 |

LOIS SAUNDERS, *Librarian.*

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CONTINENTAL LITERATURE OF THE DAY.

"THE old order changeth"; and nowhere more rapidly than in the world of letters. Many of the writers whose names are now familiar to English ears as representative of continental literature move in grooves avoided fifty or even thirty years ago; philosophy and science have discovered new realms of thought and inaugurated new ideals; and, though many of the pioneers have gone astray and are still bewildered on ways unused, they will have done some good, if only by showing where others should not follow. The purpose of this article is to indicate briefly what is considered good or bad, and to recapitulate the chief sources of inspiration during the last three decades.

Of influences which are still active the principal are: Socialism, which is in the relation to the teaching of Tolstoi and the doctrines of Ibsen and Zola, as was St. Simonism to the revolutionary movement of 1848; Darwinism supplemented by the teaching of Häckel; the Pessimism of Schopenhauer, to which the highest good is the voluntary annihilation of humanity, reinforced by that of Edward von Hartmann; the glorification of power in the individual and the attack on Christianity by Nietzsche; the revival of Rousseau's philosophy by Tolstoi; the theories of art set up by Wagner, which run counter to the laws established by Lessing; the principle of the *milieu* made current by Zola—the idea that the individual is the product of his surroundings; the movement in favour of women's rights, which owes such impulse to Ibsen; and the "Satanism," Byronism taken seriously and exaggerated to blasphemy, of Baudelaire and his disciples. These have been the prevailing ideas; the reaction inaugurated in

the neo-romanticism of Rostand and the mysticism of Maeterlinck has produced, so far, comparatively weak results.

In Germany what is known as the "Modern School" (die Moderne) dates from the eighties. The "Anklage Litteratur" (literature of accusation) gained such ground that the works of some of the writers were forbidden the stage; but in 1889 the "Freie Bühne" (Independent Theatre) was established, the object of which was to facilitate the production of realistic plays, and such was its success that to-day in Berlin works like Oscar Wilde's "Salome" and Strindberg's "Miss Julia" are acted with immense success in the face of dictatorial officialdom. It may be an argument in favour of or against the establishment of a *répertoire* theatre in London that the result would probably be to open the English stage, in the same manner as in Berlin, to all dramatic work, whatsoever its tendency.

Realism was no new thing in Germany. A fine body of healthy realistic work had already been brought into existence by Frederick Hebbel, whose work is in many respects similar to, and may have suggested that of Ibsen, by Otto Ludwig, and by the greatest writer of Switzerland, Gottfried Keller. But the Modern School rejected with disgust, usually without having read, all literature not produced by their own methods, which consisted in giving slavishly the whole physiognomy of the thing studied, as well as the atmosphere around it; and as to them beauty and idealism were worn out lies, they confined their efforts to the repulsive aspects of life, and produced caricatures instead of art. Zola was their chief prophet; but they deified Ibsen too, whose method is the reverse of the French writer's; and they paid homage to Björnson and several Russian writers, whilst some of them discovered Stendhal and Baudelaire.

Their most successful iconoclast was the Silesian Gerhart Hauptmann, whose play, "Rose Berndt", has recently been staged by the German company in London. Hauptmann is the most brilliant painter of the *milieu*; he has developed Zola's theories to a fine art, and almost to a virtue. His first play, "Before Sunrise," passes in the family of a rich farmer, a drunkard and profligate, whose wife is represented as the

mistress of a neighbouring farmer. The elder daughter has been married for pecuniary motives by an engineer, whose friend, a Socialist demagogue, comes to visit him and wins the love of the younger daughter. This "friend of the people", cold, calculating, and a total abstainer, breaks his engagement with the girl when he learns that drunkenness runs in her family; he makes his escape, and his rejected commits suicide. It will be observed that Hauptmann is an earnest moralist; like Zola, he looks upon himself somewhat as a reformer. Another play of his, "Lonely Natures", paints the torture of a young scholar married to a woman who does not understand him and in love with one who does. This is a favourite theme with the new dramatists; one might compare Ibsen's "Rosmersholm", Maeterlinck's "Aglaraine and Selysetta", and D'Annunzio's "Giaconda". "The Sunken Bell", however, a melancholy allegory with fine verse, shows that Hauptmann, under the rags of wretchedness he makes it his business to flaunt, bears a heart still capable of beautiful dreams.

Hauptmann's greatest rival, Hermann Sudermann, writes in quite a different style. He began as a novelist with slippery imitations of Maupassant, and with some hint of Björnson; his novels, though characterised by all the intellectual brutality which is becoming the characteristic of a Prussian, are of a high standard. As a dramatist he adheres to a style more conventional; the theme is usually, to say the least, bold, but the technique is that of Sardou; the main thing aimed at is effect, and Sudermann is, indeed, eminentlyactable, which cannot be said of Hauptmann. Sudermann is the better playwright of the two; but there is no trace in his writings of the genuine "pity of it all", which does occasionally move us in Hauptmann. One play of Sudermann's has been prodigiously successful all over the continent; "Magda" has provided a rôle for Eleonora Duse and Mrs. Patrick Campbell; yet there is nothing philosophically new in this famous play, and the theme has been worn threadbare since Victor Hugo's "Marion de Lorme." Mrs. Patrick Campbell has also staged "The Joy of Living", a palliative of adultery.

Another of Sudermann's plays, "The End of Sodom", has for its protagonist a painter, whose excesses, we are in-

tended to believe, are excused by his genius,—all in the tune of Nietzsche's Individualism, the influence of which has been enormous. Nietzsche's doctrines run parallel with those of Ibsen, who also lays stress on the rights of the *ego*; but Ibsen is an idealist waiting for and believing in the coming of the rational race, while Nietzsche is a reactionary in whose eyes modern men are effeminate, "mere onlookers, barren eunuchs, living lexicons"; what a man needs is to live in action and in danger. According to Nietzsche, nothing is culture in a higher degree than the modern suspicion of culture; and new standards of culture have been set up by him and his disciples. In the new world brain is to be paramount and untrammelled, and the strong man is to force his will in the interests of the world at large. Nearly all contemporary writers of reputation on the continent have passed through a phase of the Nietzsche mania; some, like George Brandes in Denmark, Arne Garborg in Norway, and Strindberg in Sweden, have openly recanted it.

If fame and success go for anything, one of the best of the contemporary German writers should be Ernst Wildenbruch, "the Laureate of the Prussian Court," as he has been sarcastically christened in the vein of "Gone, for a handful of silver he left us." It will be remembered that the German Emperor, on his last visit to England, suggested that one of the plays of this writer should be represented on the English stage. Wildenbruch has written several plays on English subjects; one on King Harold, another on Christopher Marlowe, both of them feeble, as indeed all his plays are. He was at first connected with the Moderns, but has been ejected from their ranks, and is now a most prosperous and respectable gentleman. The only lines of his I have seen quoted in England are the following from his first play, "Die Karolinger", (1888):

"The world is dead; and speechless horror
Broods o'er the carcass, and she hatches—Naught!"

Another Berlin playwright is Ludwig Fulda, who has served the reaction against realism by translating "Cyrano de Bergerac", and by writing original "Mürchen" dramas—(plays of an imaginary world).

The reaction referred to has been most brilliantly successful in Edmond Rostand's French tragedy of "Cyrano de Ber-

gerac", the characters and the *milieu* of which are anything but real. "Cyrano" is not the masterpiece it has been proclaimed, though the verse is in many passages beautiful and the construction is good ; but it is important because it marks the reaction, and popular for the same reason ; not more so, however, than the "Lucrèce" of Ponsard in 1840, now chiefly remembered as a reaction against the absurdities of the Romantic School. Rostand's debt to the "Three Musketeers," and, indeed, to the whole spirit of the elder Dumas, is evident.

The most remarkable feature of modern French letters is the Decadent School, the heroes of which are mostly

"masters of song
Who scorn to be good citizens, and jog along
At haphazard, their only motto all the time :
'All things are well, provided they have got the rhyme.'"

—(Gautier.)

By far the greatest of these Bohemians is Verlaine, whose influence continues after his death ; he is proclaimed now by competent critics as an original and genuine poet, but his life is redolent of the gutter. A modern Villon, he haunted places where liquors are consumed, drank his wits away with absinthe and rum and water, migrating to the hospital now and then by way of change, or being taken in tow by a benevolent female of habits not unlike his own. The school of Satanists, who are his disciples, took their rise to some extent in Stendhal, but principally in Baudelaire, whose "Fleurs de Mal" is their missal. Typical of their work is the poem by their arch-priest in which a mother to whom a poet-son was born clenches her fist in the face of Deity. Baudelaire himself is given the place of honour by Professor Lombroso in his chapter on mattoids ; Baudelaire's disciples show the same symptoms as their master. He himself translated from E. A. Poe and De Quincey ; his principal disciple, Stéphane Mallarmé, was also an English scholar—and a knowledge of English among French literary men, with the exception of those who are Belgians, is rare. Mallarmé was a teacher of English in Paris ; and the chief event of his life was the purchase of a donkey and cart, in which his daughter—for Mallarmé was quite respectable and married by way of contrast—used to drive him about. His poetry, fortunately, is only intelligible to those who dwell

"in the misty mid-region of Weir." He and his school are known as "Symbolists." The words of a poem, such as they write, are not what they seem, but something else ; for instance, the neck of a vase is really the kiss of the poet's father and mother, and the curtains of his window are a couch, in which something ought to lie which does not. This style of poetry, which to the old-fashioned mind is ridiculous, is to the symbolists the only possible form of modern art ; because, they argue, all that can be said on a given topic having already been said repeatedly in plain terms, the only chance of distinction for a poet nowadays is to say the same thing in terms that are not plain.

It is a remarkable fact that many of the leading writers of France to-day are foreigners. Hérédia is a Cuban ; Moréas a Greek ; Richepin was born in Algeria, and there is something Algerian about the whole gypsy character of the man ; a vagabond during a great part of his life, this swarthy lover of Sarah Bernhardt is said to have earned a living in his youth as the "strong man" at country fairs, and his "Song of the Beggars" does not draw on his imagination exclusively. There are several Yankees, too, with a reputation for French verse ; but the first and foremost among these strangers is the Belgian, Maurice Maeterlinck.

This writer, whose reputation is now world-wide, began life as a solicitor in Ghent, varying his practice by diligent study of Ibsen, from whom, in the main, the manner of his early plays is derived ; his psychology is all in Ibsen's "Master Builder." But Maeterlinck is a Fleming, and therefore a linguist ; he is familiar with German literature ; he has been influenced by such a recondite writer as Jakob Böhme, a German mystic of the 17th century, and notably by Novalis ; he is a reader of English, and can appreciate Browning ; and his symbolism probably owes something to that of Wagner. The pretentious idea of Maeterlinck's plays is to make soul speak to soul with as little intermediary of body as possible, for which purpose he has developed a style of unsurpassed simplicity. Occasionally he becomes puerile ; but he is often poetical.

Maeterlinck is a Teuton in French dress ; his metaphysics are Teutonic ; and the dreamy Flemish nature, with its roots

in Roman Catholicism, peeps through at every page ; but the country of his birth is not so evident in his writings as in those of certain others of the Belgian school,—Verhaeren, who deplores in indignant verse the depopulation of Flemish villages ; Eekhoud, who has appropriated for his novels the Campine, that desert stretch to the east of Antwerp ; and George Rodenbach, a native of Bruges, whose fame rests on the dreamy identification of that city with the idleness and disease of his own mind. The early death of the author of “*Bruges la Morte*” has been deplored in terms worthy of the apotheosis of a Keats ; but he could probably have done no more, and his influence is still great on the school of young novelists—not one of whom will be able to surpass the lurid sensationalism of the catastrophe in his chief work, where the hero strangles his mistress with the hair of his dead wife.

In Flanders itself Maeterlinck, Rodenbach, and some others are looked upon as renegades to the national cause ; they abandoned their native Flemish to write in French the language of effeminacy and corruption. There has been, for some years, great rivalry between the two languages of Belgium ; and there is a school of young Flemish writers who call themselves “*Flamingants*” (Flemishers) ; they aim at ousting the French language from Parliament and the public service, and at compelling the Walloons to learn Flemish, which, they contend, is the tongue of the majority. The *Flamingants* are not more virulent than the Nationalists of the Irish League, who aim, in all seriousness, at driving the English language into the sea. An analogous movement is also on foot in Norway ; written Norwegian is the same as Danish, though the pronunciation is somewhat different ; but there is a school of writers who aim at fabricating a national Norwegian language by nursing dialect words, and they count among their numbers no less a celebrity than Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson.

To turn to Italy, one of the most typical of continental writers is Gabriele d’Annunzio, idolized in France and widely read everywhere. He has all the vices which are included in the term *decadent* ; but he has also a vital energy which makes his books pulsate with life. His novels are not so well known in England as his plays, “*The Dead City*,” “*Giaconda*” and

"Francesca da Rimini," all of which have found a fit translator in Arthur Symonds. D'Annunzio is more *fin-de-siècle* than Maupassant, and more brutal than Sudermann. The theme of "The Dead City" cannot even be mentioned to English ears, though it is an acting play on the continent; it was diabolically clever to lay the scene near the excavations for a city famous for corruption in Greek annals, where the shaken dust is ripe with seeds of contamination centuries old. The last act of "Giaconda" is one of the most excruciating in modern literature. A mother has lost both her hands in the effort to rescue her husband from the influence of a woman who is destroying him by inches; and she is placed before her little girl, who, ignorant of her mother's disfigurement, brings her flowers she cannot take. "Francesca da Rimini," much superior to Stephen Philipps' play on the same subject in virility and local colour, is ruined by wealth of detail, and an abundance of extraneous matter in the manner of Wagner's later librettos.

The influence of Wagner, very marked in the case of d'Annunzio, may be touched upon here. The German composer aimed at revolutionizing not only the opera, but the drama as well; and many new playwrights have discarded Lessing's "Hamburg Dramaturgy," and the laws established there and never revoked by competent critics, for the overloading, the "lyrical intermezzos", the "sensual joy of individual moments", and the endless repetitions which are seen in all their bloom in the Nibelung tetralogy. It is to Wagner perhaps—certainly it is not to Ibsen—that the length of the speeches in many of the new plays is due. The mania for compressing a chapter of a novel into a stage direction began with Ibsen, who describes the appearance of a character on his first entrance; it was extended by Hauptmann and Sudermann, and in d'Annunzio it passes the bonds of reason.

By far the most prominent critic of Europe at the present day is Dr. George Brandes, of Copenhagen, by birth a Jew. He is to be classed with St. Beuve and Taine, not with Foquet, Brunetière and Lemaître, who represent French criticism to-day. The influence of the Norwegian thinker and critic, Arne Garborg, is confined to Scandinavia; George Brandes is the literary dictator of Germany as well. In England the only

book of his which is at all widely read is his "Life of Shakespeare", and that is not his best. He has elucidated Ibsen, discovered Gottfried Keller, and created a new Danish prose. He has been a life-long contributor to one of the very best newspapers in the world, the "Politiken" of Copenhagen, and through this medium his influence on politics has been considerable. He has fought strenuously all his life for political and religious liberty, and has given eloquent voice to his sympathy for North Schleswig, Poland, Finland, and the Russian people. He told the present writer during the Boer war that he would deplore the failure of England, though his heart was with their foes, since the weakening of the English prestige would mean a strengthening of the Russian, and that in his eyes would militate more than anything else imaginable against the progress of the world. In his verses "On the Completion of my Collected Works", three years ago, he says :

"If Russia hears some morning
The cry, 'Hail, freedom, hail !'—
If, at a people's warning,
A tyrant's cheek grows pale—
Then will a spark of my fire be borne with the blaze on the gale."

Through the medium of German his influence in the Russian revolutionary school has been great, and he is a personal friend of some of their chiefs. Like Ibsen, he has suffered persecution for conscience sake in his own land, where his Jewish origin has told against him, as well as his liberal ideas ; but in course of time he has conquered his position as the greatest force in Denmark, and now with Ibsen and Björnson forms the literary triumvirate of the North.

Of great influence is the Swede, August Strindberg ; eccentric, cynical, corrupt and mad, he is best known as the "Woman-Hater," the reactionary against the Women's Rights movement and the calumniator of the fair sex. But now he has married and recanted his heresy, as, indeed, he has recanted at some time or other all the other doctrines he ever preached. He is very popular in Germany.

Another most influential Scandinavian, who is also widely read in Germany, is the Swedish essayist and advocate of women's rights, Ellen Kögler, the most brilliant type of the new

woman of the continent. She has assimilated John Stuart Mill and Ruskin, as well as Nietzsche and Ibsen, and has a pretty talent for quoting Shelley, whom George Brandes has popularized, and other English authors. She is no pessimist; Christianity to her is pessimistic, at all events in its outlook on human nature and life on the earth, and certainly so in comparison with the doctrine of evolution, which is "the most optimistic view of life that ever existed. Evolutionists have an unshaken belief in the regular development of humanity by its own power towards the earthly harmony which they look upon as their goal—though they neither deny nor affirm a continued existence after this life."

The life-work of Björnson, like that of Ibsen and Tolstoi, may be regarded as complete. In Scandinavia he is more popular than Ibsen, but his influence does not bear comparison. In Germany he has acquired, like Ibsen, the force of a native writer. He has not been altogether in sympathy with his great rival, though the two have never been openly hostile, and are now related by the marriage of Ibsen's own son, Dr. Sigurd, a rising politician, to the eldest daughter of Björnson.

There has been much talk of late of Maxim Gorky. His popularity is not to be ascribed so much to his literary excellence as to the prevalent interest in things Russian, and the sympathy of modern Europe for the downtrodden beings whom Gorky paints with such simple accuracy. There is a Berlin writer, Max Kretzer, the circumstances of whose life have been somewhat similar, and whose writings deal with the same strata of humanity; but Kretzer's types are more familiar to us than Gorky's; they are, like Zola's, western European, while Gorky's are half Asiatic and nomad—peasants to whom the dregs of a hardy philosophy are beginning to filter,—who have heard of Schopenhauer in a vague sort of way, and who, later—we have a presentiment—will apply their brutal ethics, just as the French peasants, to whom Voltaire and Rousseau had become household names, enforced their awakened consciousness on an incredulous aristocracy.

To conclude: Ibsen, Björnson, Tolstoi, Strindberg, are ageing; Hauptmann and Sudermann have not yet reached their zenith; the French decadents are discredited, though

Maeterlinck may yet have surprises in store ; and the future may possibly belong to such writers as Rostand, Maxim Gorky—if he is allowed to live or write—Merejkowski, Tschekhoff, d'Annunzio, and the Austrian, Arthur Schnitzler.

J. BITHELL.

The Victoria University of Manchester.

HUMANISM.*

I FEAR that the title which I have selected for my lecture may have inadvertently given rise to misunderstanding. The term "Humanism" is usually employed to designate that great revival of learning, which, in company with the Reformation, put an end to the Middle Ages, and ushered in a new era in the world's history. The humanist, in the old sense of the term, was distinguished, on the one hand, by his claim to culture and refinement, and, on the other hand, by his antagonism to external authority and the fictions of an unreal abstraction. The former characteristic he displayed in the passion and enthusiasm with which he threw himself into the study of classical literature, and by his interest in all that concerned the higher life as lived here and now; the latter characteristic he displayed in his claim for freedom of thought, involving as it did a liberation from unintelligible dogmas, cramping superstitions and slavish submission to political or ecclesiastical authority. But it is not to Humanism in this older sense of the term that I propose to direct your attention, but to a brand new philosophical doctrine, which has usurped the name and claims to possess the features of the older Humanism. The spokesman of this newest thing in philosophy is Mr. F. C. S. Schiller, at present a fellow and tutor in the University of Oxford, who only the other day contributed an article to a volume of essays issuing from that ancient seat of learning, entitled "Personal Idealism," and who has also published a collection of essays of his own under the title "Humanism," which set forth in a popular, not to say a highly rhetorical, style, the main articles of the new faith. In justification of his forcible appropriation of the old name for the new thing, the author claims that his philosophy, in contrast to the prevalent Absolutism, which at least in Oxford has for some thirty years held almost undisputed sway, is distinguished, like its predecessor, by its opposition at once to barbarism and scholasticism. As to the first point,

*Lecture delivered before the Philosophical Society of Queen's University.

he declares that the older philosophy is barbaric both in its temper and in its style. "The former," he says, "displays itself in the inveterate tendency to sectarianism and intolerance, in spite of the discredit which the history of philosophy heaps upon it. For what could be more ludicrous than to keep up the pretence that all must own the sway of some absolute and unquestionable creed? Does not every page of philosophic history teem with illustrations that a philosophic system is an unique and personal achievement, of which not even the servilest discipleship can transpose the full flavor into another soul? Why should we therefore blind ourselves to the invincible individuality of philosophy, and deny each other the precious right to behold reality each at the peculiar angle whence he sees it? Why, when others will not and cannot see as we do, should we lose our temper and the faith that the heavenly harmony can only be achieved by a multitudinous symphony ('multitudinous symphony,' like 'the mobled queen,' is good!) in which each of the myriad centres of experience sounds its own concordant note?"* Then, "as for barbarism of style, that too is ever rampant, even though it no longer reaches the colossal heights attained by Kant and Hegel. If Humanism can restore against such forces the lucid writing of the older English style, it will make Philosophy once more a subject gentlemen can read with pleasure." The new Humanism, however, is opposed not only to Barbarism, but to Scholasticism. "For Scholasticism is one of the great facts in human nature, and a fundamental weakness of the learned world. Now, as ever, it is a spirit of sterilising pedantry that avoids beauty, dreads clearness and detests life and grace, a spirit that grovels in muddy technicality, buries itself in the futile burrowings of valueless researches, and conceals itself from human insight by the dust-clouds of desiccated rubbish which it raises. . . . Humanism therefore has before it an arduous fight with the Dragon of Scholasticism, which, as it were, deters men from approaching the golden apples that cluster on the tree of knowledge in the garden of the Hesperides."† To crown all, this humane, gentlemanly, elegant phil-

*Schiller's *"Humanism,"* p. 22.

†*Ibid.*, p. 23.

osophy may fairly claim, like its predecessor, to be a renaissance. "For it is clear that philosophy has still to be born again to enter on her kingdom, and that her votaries must still be born again to purge their systems of the taint of an inveterate barbarism." In short, in the representative of Humanism we have a new Erasmus, if not a new Erasmus, Luther and Melancthon all in one. As these champions of culture and religion and theology made resolute war with barbarism, scholasticism and despotism, so the new protagonist of Humanism does not conceal his antagonism to naturalism, and above all to absolutism. For "naturalism," he tells us, "is worthy of respect for the honest work it does, and has a real use as a partial method in subordination to the whole," whereas "Absolutism has no use, and its explanatory value is nothing but illusion."* Thus speaks the illustrious author. As may already have suggested itself to you, the new philosophy, whatever other defects it may have,—if indeed it has any—cannot be charged with the crime of superfluous modesty. "The ancient shibboleths," exclaims our author, "encounter open yawns and unconcealed derision. The rattling of dry bones no longer fascinates respect nor plunges a self-suggested horde of fakirs in hypnotic stupor. The agnostic maunderings of impotent despair are flung aside with a contemptuous smile by the young, the strong, the virile."† "These be brave 'orts," as Sir Hugh Evans might have said. Do they not give some countenance to Mr. Bradley's sarcastic comment: "This is certainly young, indeed I doubt if at any time of life most of us have been as young as this (Mind, N.S., No. 51, page 310, n.)" Mr. Schiller, as we shall find, is in a sense a follower of Prof. William James, and it is perhaps a pity that his all too omniscient air is apt to have the effect of discrediting at once his master and the doctrine he seeks to expound. Let us, however, try to do justice to the "invincible individuality of philosophy," forgetting so far as possible these irrelevant "vivacities," and seeking to understand the character of this new philosophy and its relations to its predecessors. "The longest way round," as the German proverb tells us, "is the

**Ibid.*, p. 24.

†*Ibid.*, p. 8.

shortest way home," and I must therefore ask you to have faith that in beginning at a point much earlier than this new "Humanism" we shall perhaps most readily come to see its meaning and the degree of importance which attaches to it.

Professor James, in one of his occasional papers, tells us that Kant is a "mere curio," and that the true apostolic succession of philosophy is through Dr. Reid, Mr. C. V. Pierce and Mr. Shadworth Hodgson. This extraordinary judgment, or lapse of judgment, one may venture to question. To me it rather seems that the philosophy subsequent to Kant takes its origin from him, descending in three separate streams, according as one or other of the aspects of the Critical Philosophy is emphasized, or perhaps rather over-emphasized. This is not surprising, when one considers that the philosophy of Kant was itself an attempt to effect a union of the empiricism of the school of Locke and Hume with the idealism of Descartes, Spinoza and Leibnitz, and to do so by combining the point of view of modern science with a defence of morality and religion. In seeking to effect this combination,—to do justice at once to the claim of science that all things are connected together by inviolable mechanical law and the opposite demand of morality and religion that man should lead a free, responsible and ideal life,—Kant was led to draw a bold line of demarcation between Theoretical and Practical Philosophy. Within the former fall the various phenomena included in the system of nature, understanding by "nature" not only things and events belonging to the so-called "external world," but even such inner events as our own immediate feelings and desires. For, in Kant's theory, nothing strictly speaking belongs to the sphere of practice except that which proceeds directly from the will of the agents; and the immediate appetites and desires, which we find welling up within us, no more proceed from our wills than the movement of a stone or the circulation of the blood. Hence, what are ordinarily called "practical" sciences—such as surveying, farming, politics, &c.—are not in Kant's sense "practical" at all: they are merely the application of theoretical rules. The only "practical" science is the science which contains the laws of a free agent; in other words, the science of ethics. When a man wills so as to conform to moral

law, his volition proceeds from himself ; it is *he* that acts, and not something that acts *on* him ; but, when he is hurried away by an immediate desire—say by a revengeful impulse—it is not his true self that acts, and he is not truly free.

In thus opposing Theoretical and Practical Philosophy, Kant has prepared the way for a well-known characteristic of his doctrine, the exaltation of the Practical over the Theoretical Reason,—the “primacy of Practical Reason,” as it is usually called. If, as he contends, the true man is the one who wills the moral law—and for Kant there is no other kind of willing—we must seek for the true nature of man by asking what is implied in the *moral* consciousness. The theoretical consciousness reveals to us only external appearances ; it can but reduce the multifarious things of sense to a mechanical system, or even in its highest reach suggest that there may be something beyond ; but it is only the practical or moral consciousness that compels us to believe in our own freedom and immortality and in the existence of God.

The abrupt contrast of theoretical and practical reason characteristic of the philosophy of Kant naturally led to divergent views. One class of thinkers, representing what has been called “naturalism,” cut the knot by denying *in toto* that we can determine anything in regard to the region lying beyond the sphere of knowledge. At the same time the influence of Kant upon them is so far evident that they admit the existence of a reality lying beyond our knowledge, while they claim that of it we can say nothing except that it *is*. This is the attitude of thinkers like Huxley and Tyndall, who found a philosophic exponent in the late Herbert Spencer. For all thinkers of this school the sole knowable forms of being are those that can be brought within the mechanical system of nature, and though they claim that what we thus know is the relative and phenomenal, they deny that we can extend our knowledge beyond this limited region. A second class of thinkers attack the problem left by Kant in an entirely different way. They maintain that the abstract opposition of the theoretical and practical reason is untenable, and therefore they deny that ultimately there is any fundamental opposition between faith and knowledge. This is the attitude of Hegel and the English

Idealists. Hegel makes two main criticisms of Kant. In the first place, he denies the abstract opposition of faith and knowledge, and therefore the abstract opposition of theoretical and practical reason upon which it is based. In the second place, he maintains that the reason for this false contrast is the unwarranted assumption that the highest conception involved in experience is that of a mechanical system of individual things. It is this general line of thought that has been followed by the English Idealists. The first representative of this point of view was the late T. H. Green, who endeavoured to develop the positive part of the Kantian doctrine; while refusing to accept the principle of the primacy of practical reason. Green maintained with Kant that our ordinary experience of things presupposes the operation of the distinguishing and combining activity of thought. This being so, he claimed that, as the world of experience exists only for a self-conscious being, we must interpret reality as a spiritual, not as a mechanical, system. On the other hand, Green holds that it is only by a gradual process that the spiritual system which constitutes reality comes into existence for us. The world is the manifestation of a spiritual being, but this being must be conceived as an "eternally complete self-consciousness," which is in no way affected by the process of experience in us. This contrast between the world of experience as arising for us only in the process by which we gradually come to know it, and the world as it is for the eternally complete self-consciousness, leads Green to deny that we can be said to know God in an absolute sense. We do indeed know that "the world in its truth or full reality is spiritual," because nothing less will explain the fact of our experience, but "such a knowledge of the spiritual unity of the world as would be a knowledge of God" is impossible for us, or, as Green roundly puts it, "to know God we must be God." It is evident that Green has failed to justify adequately his contention that there is no opposition between knowable reality and reality as it absolutely is. In another way he restores the dualism between knowledge and faith which he inherited from Kant. Now, Mr. Bradley, in his "Appearance and Reality," has attempted in his own way to go beyond the guarded attitude of Green and to define the absolute or God. No one

has emphasized more strongly than he the infinite complexity of the world, the manifest want of harmony and consistency in our ordinary experience and the impossibility of regarding it as an ultimate determination of reality. Nevertheless, he maintains that we are able in general to define the nature of the absolute. For, as he argues, our very inability to accept the contradictions which we find in our ordinary experience proves that, real as that experience is, it cannot be regarded as coincident with reality in its ultimate nature. Now, why do we condemn our ordinary experience? Is it not because it is inconsistent or self-contradictory? But this implies that we always presuppose true reality to be self-consistent. Moreover, as nothing can exist that falls entirely beyond all possible experience, the absolute must be not only self-consistent, but a single or total experience. This, however, is as far as we can go. Ultimate reality is undoubtedly a harmonious whole, an absolute spiritual unity, and if we could put ourselves at the point of view of the Absolute we should certainly find that the whole complexity of our experience—including science, morality, art and religion—would be perceived as a single harmonious whole. Mr. Bradley, however, though he admits that there are “degrees of reality” within our experience, refuses to admit that even the highest form of reality known to us is identical with the Absolute.

Now, it must be admitted that in this doctrine of Mr. Bradley the opposition between knowledge and faith still survives, and hence it is perhaps not to be wondered at that men like Prof. James and Mr. Schiller should find this form of Idealism unsatisfactory and self-contradictory. They therefore in a sense recur to the point of view of Kant, so far at least as to maintain that the true nature of reality is to be found by a consideration of the will as distinguished from the intellect. They hold that the true meaning of the world can only be discovered by finding out how far it answers to the claims of our fundamental needs. This view was partly indicated by Lotze and it has also been adopted to a certain extent by Mr. Balfour and others. Our special interest, however, lies in the form which it assumes under the hands of Prof. James and Mr. Schiller.

The main object Mr. James has in view is to "defend the legitimacy of religious faith"; that is, to show that we are in certain cases justified in believing that for which no definite evidence can be advanced. This doctrine is the precise opposite of Rationalism, which claims that nothing should be accepted as true which cannot justify itself at the bar of reason. Now, of course, Mr. James does not mean that we are in all cases to take as true what it suits us personally to believe. It may, for example, suit a political leader to believe that every member of his party is scrupulously honest, but he is not justified in taking his wish as equivalent to fact. Again, it would be very pleasant if a man who is roaring with rheumatism in bed could by believing that he was well at once become well, or if a man who has only a dollar in his pocket could convert it by his wish into a hundred dollars; but it is obvious that in such cases the talk of believing by our volition is simply silly. Indeed, from another point of view it is worse than silly, it is vile. "When one turns to the magnificent edifice of the physical sciences and sees how it was reared; what thousands of disinterested mortal lives of men lie buried in its mere foundations; what patience and postponement, what choking down of preference, what submission to the icy law of outer fact are wrought into its very stones and mortar; how absolutely impersonal it stands in its vast augustness,—then how besotted and contemptible seems every little sentimentalist who comes blowing his voluntary smoke-wreaths and pretending to decide things from out of his private dream! Can we wonder if those bred in the rugged and manly school of science should feel like spewing such subjectiveism out of their mouths? The whole system of loyalties which grow up in the schools of science go dead against its toleration; so that it is only natural that those who have caught the scientific fever should pass over to the opposite extreme, and write sometimes as if the incorruptibly truthful intellect ought positively to prefer bitterness and unacceptableness to the heart in its cup.

It fortifies my soul to know
That, though I perish, Truth is so—

sings Clough, while Huxley exclaims: 'My only consolation lies in the reflection that, however bad our posterity may

become, so far as they hold by the plain rule of not pretending to believe what they have no reason to believe, because it may be to their advantage so to pretend, they will not have reached the lowest depth of immorality.' And that delicious *enfant terrible* Clifford writes: 'Belief is desecrated when given to unproved and unquestioned statements for the solace and private pleasure of the believer. . . . Whoso would deserve well of his fellows in this matter will guard the purity of his belief with a very fanaticism of jealous care, lest at any time it should rest on an unworthy object, and catch a stain which can never be wiped away. . . . If a belief has been accepted on insufficient evidence (even though the belief be true, as Clifford in the same page explains) the pleasure is a stolen one. . . . It is sinful because it is stolen, in defiance of our duty to mankind. That duty is to guard ourselves from such beliefs as from a pestilence which may shortly master our own body and then spread to the rest of the town. . . . It is wrong always, everywhere, and for every one, to believe anything upon insufficient evidence.'"*

Are we then to conclude that all beliefs are determined by pure reason? To do so would be to fly directly in the teeth of the facts. In truth we find ourselves believing we hardly know how or why. "Here in this room," says Mr. James, addressing a group of Harvard students, "we all of us believe in molecules and the conservation of energy, in democracy and necessary progress, in Protestant Christianity and the duty of fighting for 'the doctrine of the immortal Munroe,' all for no reasons worthy of the name. . . . Our reason is quite satisfied, in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of every thousand of us, if it can find a few arguments that will do to recite in case our credulity is criticized by some one else. Our faith is faith in some one else's faith, and in the greatest matters this is most the case."†

Now, in what circumstances are we justified in exercising the "will to believe"? Under what conditions does a hypothesis presented to us for acceptance become a belief or conviction? In the first place, it must be *living*, not dead; that is, it must

*James' *Will to Believe*, pp. 7-8.

†*Ibid.*, p. 9.

awaken a responsive interest in us, so that we do not at once set it aside as incredible. An hypothesis which has no relation to the individual thinker is dead, and therefore never passes into belief. If, for example, we are asked to believe that the Mahdi is a prophet of God, we are presented with an hypothesis which finds no response in us, and which is therefore instantly rejected. In the second place, no hypothesis ever becomes a belief unless the option of believing or rejecting it is *forced* upon us ; in other words, it must be presented with an absolute alternative. Such an hypothesis is Christianity and Agnosticism. We must accept either the one alternative or the other. And lastly, the hypothesis presented must be *momentous*, not trivial. In what cases, then, are hypotheses presented to us which are at once *living*, *forced* and *momentous* ? In the first place, such an hypothesis is the belief in the truth itself, the belief that there is truth and that our minds and it are made for each other. "What is this," said Mr. James, "but a passionate affirmation of desire, in which our social system backs us up. We want to have a truth ; we want to believe that our experiments and studies and discussions must put us in a continually better and better position towards it ; and on this line we agree to fight out our thinking lives. But if a pyrrhonic sceptic asks us *how we know* all this, can our logic find a reply ? No ! Certainly it cannot. It is just one volition against another,—we willing to go in for life upon a trust or assumption which he, for his part, does not care to make."* Nor is the matter different when we pass from the theoretical to the practical sphere. "Moral scepticism can no more be refuted or proved by logic than intellectual scepticism can. Moral questions cannot wait for solution upon sensible proof." Science can tell us what exists, but it cannot tell us what ought to exist. Thus "the question of having moral beliefs at all, or not having them, is decided by our will. . . . If your heart does not *want* a world of moral reality your head will, assuredly, never make you believe in one."†

Not only in the general belief in truth and goodness, but in more concrete problems, we are forced to adopt an alterna-

**Ibid.*, p. 10.

†*Ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

tive for which no preponderating evidence can be adduced, and this choice is forced upon us just in those cases that are most momentous for us. In scientific questions we are not thus driven to the wall, because "the option between losing truth and gaining it is not momentous," and therefore we can afford to miss the chance of *gaining truth*, and "at any rate save ourselves from any chance of *believing falsehoods*, by not making up our minds at all till objective evidence has come." "In our dealings with objective nature we obviously are recorders, not makers, of the truth. . . . Throughout the breadth of physical nature facts are what they are quite independently of us." What difference does it make to us whether we have or have not a theory of the X-rays? Here there is no forced option, and therefore it is better to go on weighing the reasons *pro* and *contra* with an indifferent hand.* But are there not options from which we cannot escape? Mr. James answers that there are. Such options we have in the case of all moral principles. Here in the absence of proof our "passional nature" must decide. It is the heart and not the head that makes us believe in moral laws. Thus we obtain the general thesis that "our passional nature not only lawfully may, but must, decide an option between propositions, whenever it is a genuine option that cannot by its nature be decided on intellectual grounds."† Again, while it is true that even in human affairs in general the need of acting is seldom so urgent that a false belief to act on is better than no belief at all, yet there are cases in which our principle applies. Healthy relations between persons demands trust and expectation, and indeed the desire for a certain kind of truth here brings about that special truth's existence. If you assume the nobility of a man, even where you have no objective evidence for your belief, you are likely to create in him that quality even if he did not originally possess it. So a social organism of any sort is possible only on the basis of mutual trust. "Whenever a desired result is achieved by the co-operation of many independent persons, its existence as a fact is a pure consequence of the precursive faith in one another of those immediately concerned. A government, an army, a

**Ibid.*, p. 20.

†*Ibid.*, p. 11.

commercial system, a ship, a college, an athletic team, all exist on this condition, without which not only is nothing achieved but nothing is attempted." "There are, then, cases where a fact cannot come at all unless a preliminary faith exists in its coming."* There is still another case, and that the most important of all, to which our principle applies, viz., *religious faith*. Whatever form religion assumes, it at least presupposes eternal perfection, and yet it is impossible to verify this belief scientifically. Now, here we must presuppose that we have an instance of a living hypothesis. If for any one religion is a hypothesis that cannot by any possibility be true, there is no way of convincing him of its truth, but where it is regarded as a real possibility there can be no doubt that religion offers itself as a "momentous" option; and not only so, but it is a "forced" option, since we cannot escape the issue by remaining sceptical and waiting for more light, because if it is true we lose the good dependent upon it. Hence we are not justified in refusing to make our choice between belief and disbelief. We have here the right to believe "at our own risk." "When I look at the religious question," says Mr. James, "as it really puts itself to concrete men, and when I think of all the possibilities which both practically and theoretically it involves, then this command that we shall put a stopper on our heart, instinct, and courage, and *wait*—acting, of course, meanwhile more or less as if religion were *not* true—till Doomsday, or till such time as our intellect and senses working together may have raked in evidence enough—this command, I say, seems to me the queerest idol ever manufactured in the philosophic cave."†

Without attempting a fundamental criticism of the doctrine of Mr. James, it may be pointed out that it rests throughout on two assumptions:—Firstly, that nothing can be verified except that which belongs to the sphere of external nature, and, secondly, that there is an absolute opposition between faith and knowledge. Now, it is rather curious that, although Mr. James has described Kant as a "curio," his own doctrine so far as these two assumptions are concerned coincides with that of Kant. For it is one of the main positions of the critical

**Ibid.*, p. 25.

†*Ibid.*, p. 30

philosophy that knowledge is coterminous with sensible experience, in other words, with the connected system of individual objects which constitutes the world of nature. Holding this view, Kant naturally went on to maintain that all the distinctively human interests, including morality and religion, must be based upon faith. Now, it was pointed out by Kant's immediate successors, and especially by Hegel, that the limitation of knowledge to the system of nature is a purely arbitrary assumption, resting upon the untenable hypothesis that the highest category constitutive of knowable objects is that of reciprocal action. Mr. James is involved in the same criticism. His main reason for denying that morality and religion can be proved is his tacit assumption that nothing can satisfy the intellect except that which can be expressed in terms of mechanical causation. He seems to forget that the whole sphere of life, not to speak of consciousness, is inexplicable except from a teleological point of view, and that the system of nature itself is ultimately unintelligible unless it is interpreted from the same point of view.

A similar remark applies to the opposition between faith and knowledge. Even the proposition that there is truth and that it is obtainable by us is held to be beyond all rational evidence. Now, it is of course true that there is no way of proving the possibility of a true judgment by going beyond the whole sphere of knowledge. We can show the falsity of a particular or limited judgment by pointing out that it is inconsistent with some principle, the truth of which is admitted, but we cannot bring truth itself to the test of any higher principle. What we can do, however, is to show that even the denial of truth, since it is a judgment made by us, at least presupposes its own truth as a denial. Thus we may fairly argue, that the possibility of truth only seems to be lacking in evidence because it is the source of all evidence.

There are other more specific criticisms to which Mr. James seems to me open, but it will be better to defer these till we have seen how his followers have expanded what in him is only a method into a dogmatic system. Pragmatism is after all little more in Mr. James' hands than a working conception,—one might almost call it a “dodge”—by which, in default of

scientific evidence, we contrive to live and to turn Nature to our own ends. We cannot, it is held, refute the sceptic on theoretical grounds, but we can at least get the better of him in practice ; for, though we have no way of knowing whether we have even partially apprehended the world, not even the sceptic can show that we have not truly apprehended it, and we have always this advantage over him, that the beliefs on which we act prove or disprove themselves practically in this way, that they either do or do not give satisfaction to our whole nature. Mr. James, however, only brings the pragmatic method into play in cases where we have to make "a genuine option that cannot by its nature be decided on intellectual grounds," excepting from its sway the whole sphere of scientific judgments. It is seldom, however, the case that the follower exhibits the same self-restraint as the master, and hence we find Mr. Schiller boldly maintaining that no truth, scientific or other, is ever determined on purely intellectual grounds. Nor does he admit that "throughout the breadth of physical nature facts are what they are quite independently of us"; on the contrary, he advances the startling paradox that in the apprehension of nature we are by no means "recorders, not makers, of the truth" (to use Mr. James' words), but literally construct Nature, or at least transform it into something different from what it is prior to our apprehension of it. This thesis our author defends at length in his article on "Axioms as Postulates." Starting from the fact that the world as we know it is a gradual construction reached by successive trial, he maintains that it takes its whole form from our successive experiments in shaping it. No doubt we cannot give it any form we please ; but, though there is in it a resisting factor, what the world *is*, is what we *make* out of it. Thus, in an absolutely literal sense, the universe develops from lower to higher ; the development being not simply in our apprehension, but in the world itself. Mr. Bradley speaks somewhere of the idea that the Absolute develops as "blasphemous or worse"; Mr. Schiller has no hesitation in affirming that Reality itself advances from lower to higher ; nor does he hesitate to make this affirmation though, as one of its consequences, he is forced to admit that it is incompatible with the infinity of God, which he

therefore denies. Let us glance at the line of thought by which this "humanistic" view of the world is sought to be established.

Matthew Arnold, as everybody knows, was the author of the saying that "Conduct is three-fourths of life." But this, Mr. Schiller tells us, is but a "plausible platitude." The real truth is that conduct is the whole of life, and to give a meaning even to Truth itself is impossible except in terms of Conduct. This is the main tenet of the new robust and virile philosophy, which regards "purposeful action" as the source and explanation of Truth and Reality. For Thought itself is but a "mode of conduct," and knowledge derivative from it.* Prof. James put forward the "will to believe" as "an intellectual right (in certain cases) to decide between alternative views . . . by other than purely intellectual considerations, viz., their emotional interest and practical value." This doctrine has been decried as "rank irrationalism." Now, if we had to choose between Irrationalism and Intellectualism, the former ought to be preferred. But Prof. James' doctrine is by no means irrational; it is a vindication of the actual reason by showing that it is permeated through and through by acts of faith. Mr. Schiller, however, claims that Prof. James has not been radical enough; he ought to have denied altogether "the traditional notion of beliefs determined by pure reason alone."† Reason is really an instrument for enabling us to adapt ourselves to the environment. It has no other use than to subserve the fundamental needs of our life. Even the so-called theoretical principles by which we seek to harmonize our experience are all at bottom devices for enabling us the better to realize ourselves.

This may be shown by asking what is meant by Truth. Now, it has been generally recognized since Kant that no satisfactory answer to the question, *What is Reality?* can be given until we have decided another question: *What can I know as real?* What has not been generally recognized is that Knowledge is not the mechanical operation of a passionless, "pure" intellect, which

*Schiller's *Humanism*, p. 4.

†*Ibid.*, p. 7.

Grinds out Good and grinds out Ill,
And has no purpose, heart or will

on the contrary, Knowledge is essentially that way of conceiving Reality which subserves our needs and our ends. The idea that Knowledge reveals but does not affect the nature of Reality—that Knowledge is simply a “copy” of what already exists independently of it—is “one of those sheer assumptions which are incapable, not only of proof, but even of rational defence. We come into contact with reality only in the act of ‘knowing’ or experiencing it. Hence we have no right to assume that ‘what the Real *is* in the act of knowing, it is also outside that relation. One might as well argue that because an orator is eloquent in the presence of an audience, he is no less voluble in addressing himself.”* It is therefore meaningless to ask what the real is in itself. Nor can we say that reality has a rigid nature which is unaffected by our treatment of it, any more than that it is absolutely plastic to our every demand. The actual fact is that the process of knowledge is a case of intervention between subject and object. “When the mind ‘knows’ reality both are affected, just as when a stone falls to the ground both it and the earth are attracted. We must therefore discard the notion that in the constitution of the world we count for nothing, that it matters not what we do, because Reality is what it is, whatever we may do. It is true, on the contrary, that our action is essential and indispensable, that to some extent the world (our world) is of our making, and that without us nothing is made that is made.”† To what extent and in what directions the world is plastic we can only find out by trying; but at any rate we are sure that it is not *indifferent* to us, and thus Humanism “sweeps away entirely the stock excuse for fatalism and despair.”‡

Prof. James pointed out that the will to believe comes into operation only when there is a “living” option. Why this is so Mr. Schiller attempts to explain. An option is “living” for us when the hypothesis suggested does not conflict with “the apperceiving mass of beliefs of which we find ourselves already possessed.”§ But these beliefs are themselves in large

**Ibid.*, p. 11. †*Ibid.*, p. 12. ‡*Ibid.*, p. 13. §*Mind*, N.S., No 51.

measure "the common-sense traditions of the race." They appear to us who float far down the stream of time in the guise of universal and necessary "axioms," the opposite of which it is impossible to conceive. In truth, every one of them, Mr. Schiller contends, was originally a "postulate," constructed by our minds in order to enable us to satisfy our theoretical and practical needs. Thus the logical law of Identity was a device for harmonizing the chaos of sensible experiences with which the race began. In a similar way was evolved the conception of "one Time and Space as single continuous receptacles ; the distinction between thoughts and things, matter and mind ; the conception of classes with sub-classes within them ; the separation of fortuitous from regularly caused connexions."* Our ancestors slowly worked out these things of thought "in their attempts to get the chaos of their crude individual experiences into a more sharable and manageable shape." Their practical value in enabling us to find our way in life and thought has been so firmly established by long experience that it is only by a violent effort we can even admit that they did not belong to the original structure of the mind, but are as much inductions as the "more recent ones of the atom, of inertia, of reflex action, or of fitness to survive."† Nevertheless "postulates" they were, and postulates they remain, differing from postulates that have never established their right to exist only in the fact that they have stood the test of experience, by enabling us "the better to foresee the future, communicate with one another, steer our lives by rule, and have a cleaner, clearer, more inclusive mental view." These axiomatic principles are not likely to be upset by future experiences, but at the same time we must not claim for them the rank of ultimate or absolute truths ; they are not determinations of already existing things, but merely the ideal instruments by which we systematize our knowledge and our life. With this we must be content. Perfect harmony of the true, the beautiful and the good is an ideal which lies far before us, and which must not be confused with the empty abstractions of absolutist philosophies.

**Ibid.*, p. 401.

†*Ibid.*, p. 461.

It has taken us so long to get "oriented" in this new philosophy—and even now our illumination is by no means perfect—that anything like a complete estimate of it is impossible. I must therefore confine myself to the suggestion of one or two difficulties which lie in the way of its acceptance.

The most paradoxical doctrine advanced by Humanism is that the world itself undergoes a process of development from lower to higher, and is raised from its primal undifferentiated condition by our action upon it. Now, of course, there is nothing unusual in the idea that there has been development within the universe. According to the ordinary scientific doctrine, e.g., our solar system was at a very early age in a highly undifferentiated state, a state of widely-diffused nebulous matter, and gradually assumed its proper form. Further, we are all familiar with the doctrine that the various so-called species of living beings have all been developed from "one or more primordial forms." But the theory of evolution, as advanced in this form, assumes that the process of development actually occurred, and occurred independently of any activity on our part. The "humanistic" theory of development is fundamentally different. It starts from the side of knowledge, and has a certain kinship with the doctrine of Kant that "the mind makes Nature out of a material that it does not make"; in fact, as Mr. Schiller has himself pointed out, the humanistic theory of knowledge closely resembles Fichte's development of the Kantian doctrine, according to which there is no "thing in itself" beyond the mind, what we call such being merely a *limit* beyond which we are unable to go. The idea that knowledge is a copy of a world that is already constituted independently of our mind is held by Humanism to be a crude and untenable theory. As Lotze declared, "The notion of a world complete in itself, to which thought comes as a passive mirror, adding nothing to the fact, is irrational." We must, then, grant that reality for us is not something that exists prior to our determination of it, but that it "genuinely grows" or is "made" by us. Listen to Mr. James on the humanistic doctrine. "Take the 'g reat bear' or 'dipper' constellation in the Heavens. We call it by that name, we count the stars and call them seven, we say they were seven before they were counted, and we say that

whether any one had ever noted the fact or not, the dim resemblance to a long-tailed animal was always truly there. But what do we mean by this projection into past eternity of recent human ways of thinking? Did an 'absolute' thinker actually do the counting, tell off the stars upon his standing number-tally, and make the bear-comparison, silly as the latter is? Were they explicitly seven, explicitly bear-like, before the human witness came? Surely, nothing in the truth of the attributions drives us to think this. They were only implicitly or virtually what we call them, and we human witnesses first explicated them and made them real. . . . Our stellar attributes must always be called true, then ; yet none the less are they genuine additions made by our intellect to the world of fact. They copy nothing that pre-existed, yet they agree with what pre-existed, fit it, exemplify it, relate and connect it, build it out."

Now, I think one must admit that Humanism is right in declaring that knowledge does not consist in simply "copying" what already exists apart from knowledge. But, in denying the "copying" theory, no advance has been made beyond the philosophy of Kant. For it is, as I have said, a fundamental point in the Critical Philosophy that no criterion of truth can be found outside of "experience" itself. "Nature" is undoubtedly a construction in the sense that it exists as Nature, and has a meaning, only for an intelligent subject.

But, while every true theory of knowledge must reject the "copying" doctrine, it does not follow that we must accept the humanistic alternative, that the system of nature as it exists for us is the creation of our minds. There is no doubt whatever that the existence of man with his capacity for building up systems of thought makes a difference to reality, a difference which we have to take into account in our philosophies ; but surely the question is, whether the constructions of our minds actually bring into being what before the activity of our minds had no reality whatever. We construct an arithmetic, and count the stars in the "great bear." Admit that an "absolute" thinker does not in our sense actually "count" up to 7, and what follows? Surely, it does not follow that our counting has absolutely no meaning as a determination of the constellation?

Granting that arithmetic is a construction of ours, it yet is a "construction" that, though it does not "copy" reality, admittedly "conforms" to it. The construction, then, is not perfectly arbitrary ; it is not the whole truth about the thing, nor even the most important truth, but it is true, in the sense that it alone is compatible with the facts. And the same principle applies to the other special sciences. Mr. Schiller argues that there are various "geometries," which are just as true, though not as useful, as that of Euclid. But wherein does their truth consist? It consists in the fact that they correctly formulate the results that follow when we fix our attention upon certain aspects of reality and for our special purpose set aside all our aspects. But two or more geometries, all of which equally conform to reality, while contradicting one another, is certainly an absurdity. They are all our "constructions," but what gives them meaning is that they formulate the results which flow from certain aspects of reality. For, admittedly, not all constructions, but only those which are confirmed by "experience"—only those that "work"—are able to survive ; and I think we may fairly say that they survive because they conform to reality, not that their conformity to reality means nothing but their survival.

I do not think, then, that we can admit the humanistic doctrine that Reality as a whole develops. The supposition that it does seems to me to arise from identifying "Reality" with the immediate sensible world. Defined in this way, Reality must be held to develop when self-conscious beings arise. But surely "Reality" must ultimately include all forms of being, and not merely the simplest forms. Now, while it is true that our "constructions"—*i.e.*, our science, our art, our religion, our philosophy—undoubtedly add to Reality conceived as purely immediate or sensible, I can attach no meaning to the statement that our individual minds, or, if you like, the totality of individual minds, "make" Reality, or even make it out of a pre-existent matter, if this means that they bring into being what had in no sense existence previously in the universe. For, though our intelligence builds up for us the world, it does not build up itself. In all the humanistic attempts to reduce truth to what is "useful," the intelligence it-

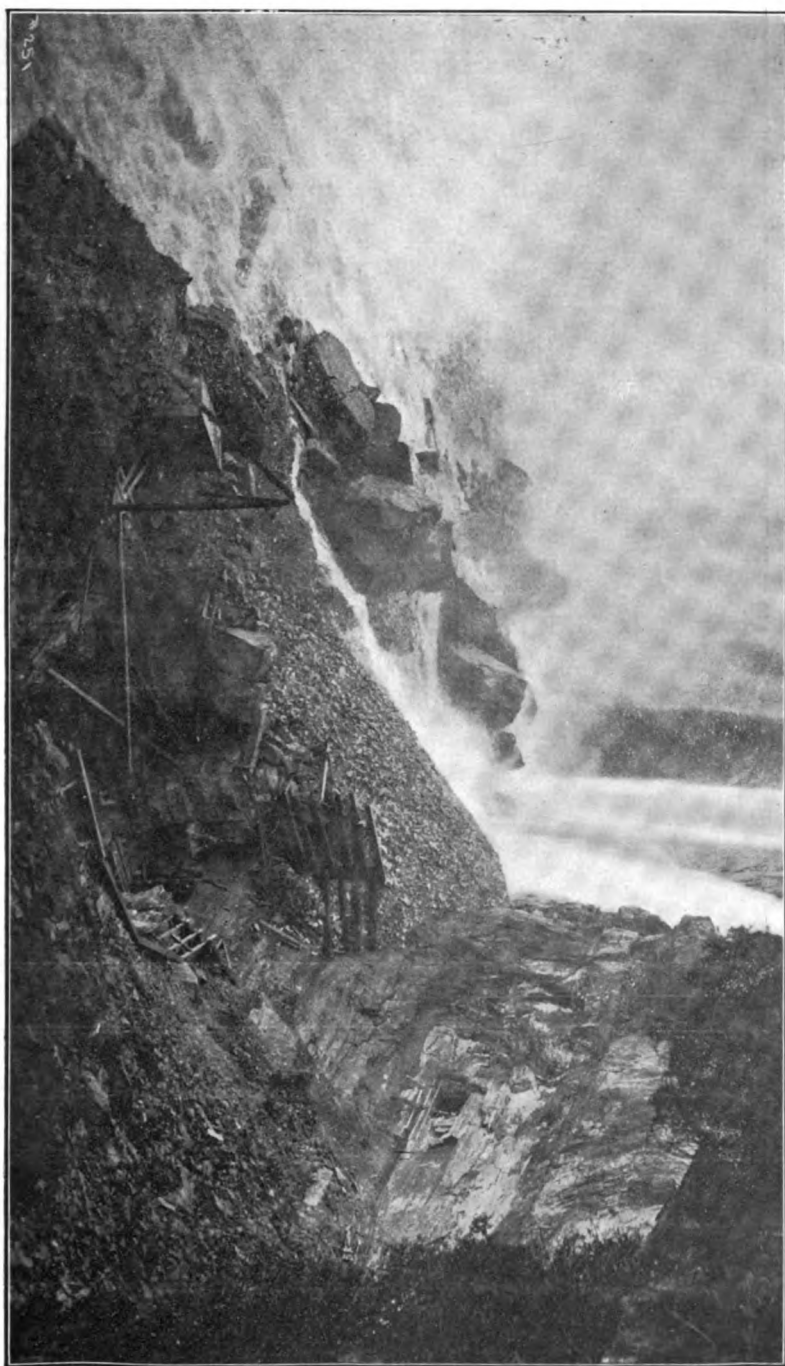
self is invariably assumed. But to assume intelligence as if it were an attribute peculiar to man, is simply to assume that it cannot come in contact with Reality at all ; in other words, we have to posit the fundamental identity of all intelligence, or we cannot advance a step. Now, the humanist points out that our "constructions" are never ultimate, because our experience is ever growing,—because, in Mr. James' phrase, it "cuts against the black inane as the luminous orb of the moon cuts the caerulean abyss." Put, then, these two things together : first, that intelligence is the sole source of reality, and, secondly, that reality is never for us completely intelligible, and are we not bound to conclude that reality, as it truly is, is a complete or perfect intelligence ? At any rate, if this is denied, the theism which Mr. Schiller supports must be abandoned.

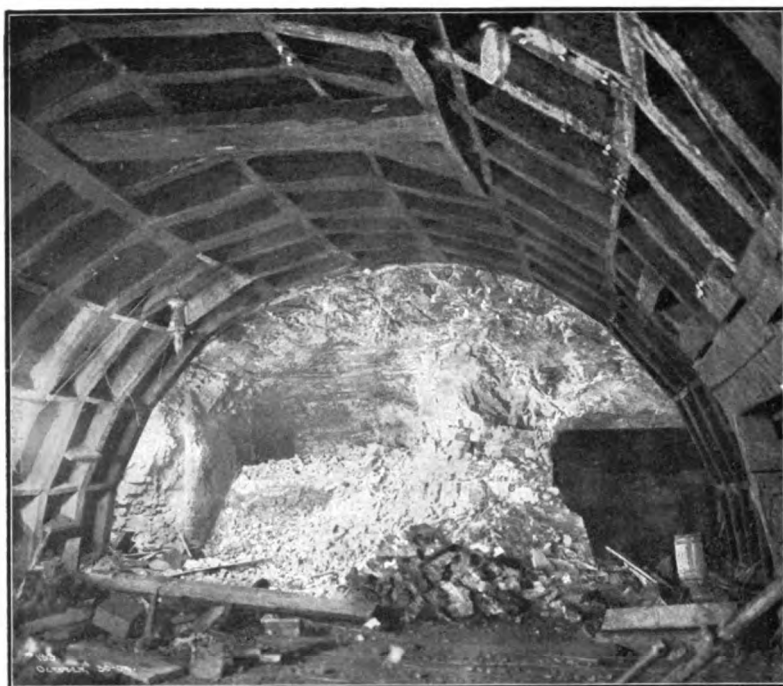
And this leads me to say that Mr. Schiller's idea of God as a perfectly good but finite Being seems to me—but, as Kipling would say, "that is another story."

JOHN WATSON.

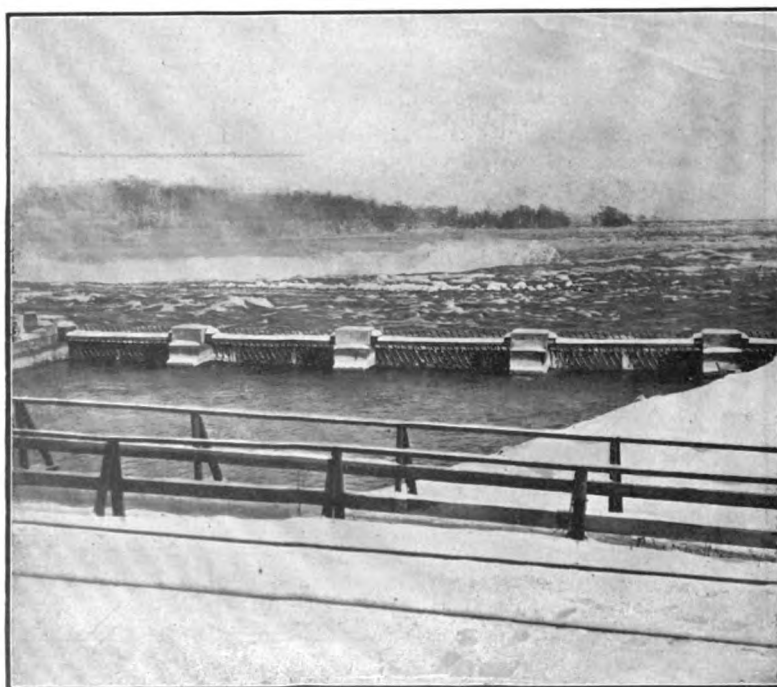
Queen's University.

GENERAL VIEW OF PORTAL FROM TOP LANDING OF ELEVATOR, C. N. P. CO.



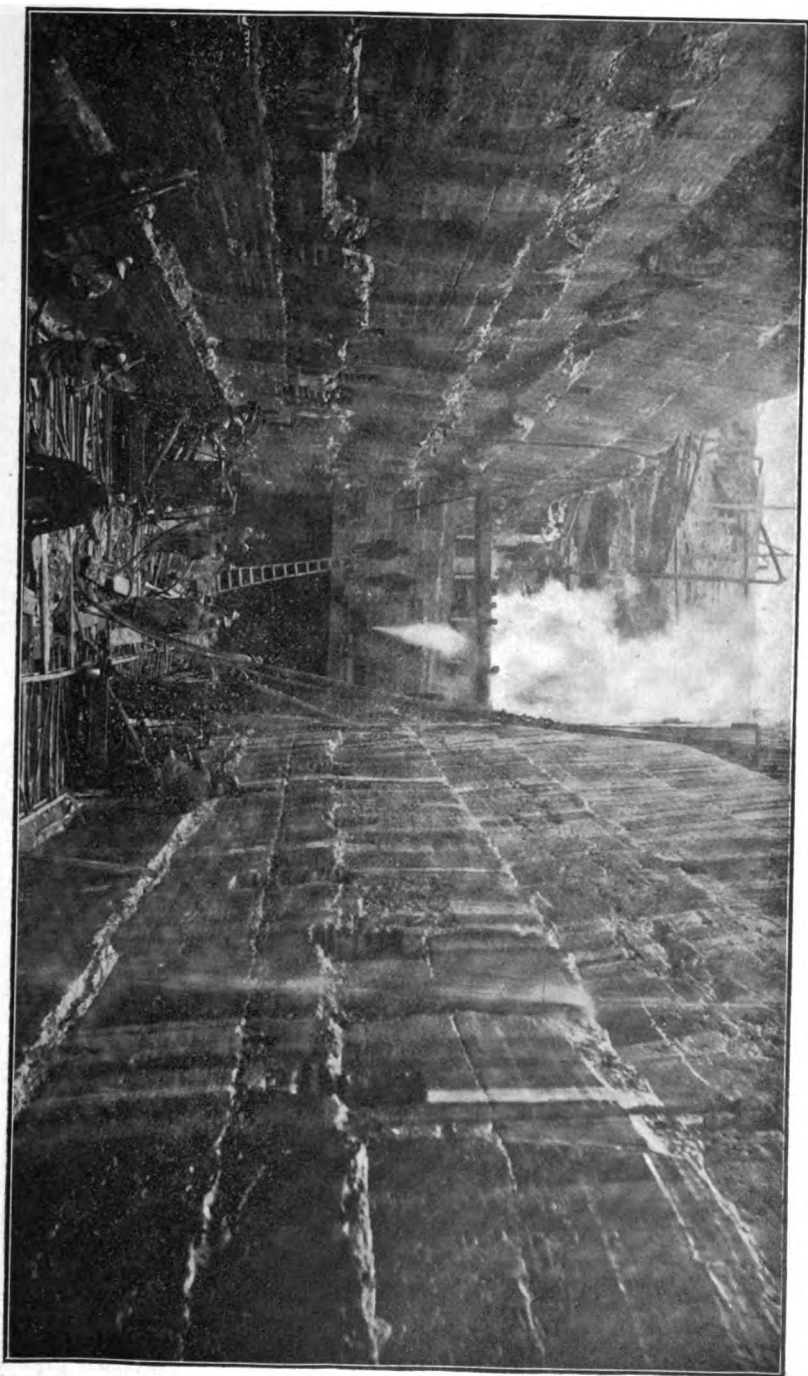


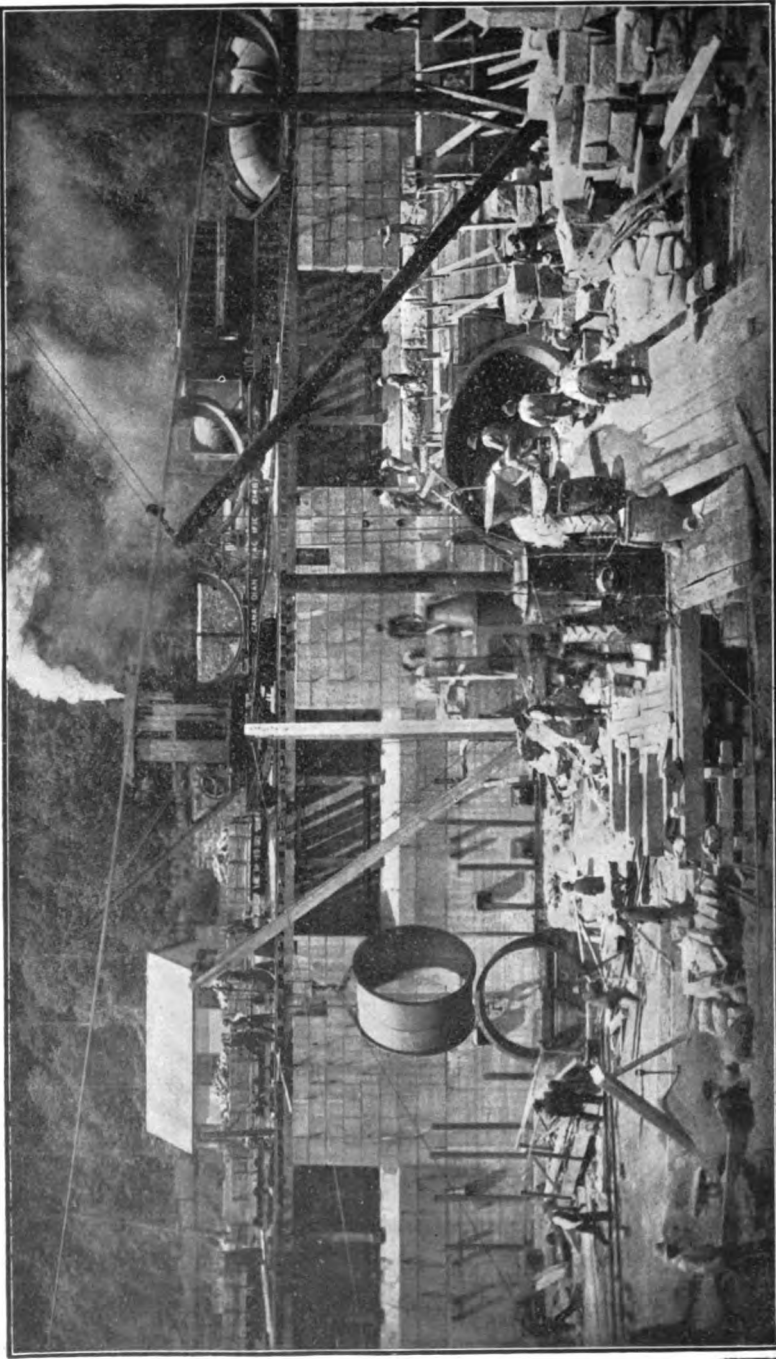
TORONTO AND NIAGARA POWER CO.



INTAKE OF INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY CO'S CANADIAN POWER HOUSE.

VIEW OF SOUTH END OF PIT, C. N. P. CO.





PLACING NO. 2 PENSTOCK MOUTH, C. N. P. Co.

ONTARIO'S WATER POWERS.

EVEN so recently as one generation ago, a water power development meant a grist or saw mill, or possibly a woolen mill, located on a small stream and operated by cheaply constructed water wheels, poorly designed and poorly maintained. Wooden dams, timber flumes and frame buildings served the immediate needs of those days, when the population was meagre and local consumption limited the output of power. Now these conditions are rapidly changing and large developments, built of permanent materials, are being carried out along scientific lines, tending to ultimate economy in production.

When our forefathers settled in Ontario they found a thickly wooded country and streams which flowed somewhat uniformly all the year. The woodland vegetation and undrained lands formed natural reservoirs. But, as the lands became drained and cleared, these conditions were altered, until now nearly all the precipitation of winter and spring runs off very quickly, leaving the soil in summer and autumn barren of stored water, with the streams depending chiefly on the meagre run-off from summer showers after the thirsty soil and hot air have taken their shares.

Fortunately there are many large rivers which still have abundant flow for present needs, and much can be done to improve matters, but hundreds of small deserted mills and factories all over the settled parts of the province tell their own tales. In the unsettled parts of Ontario, extending from Mattawa to the boundary of Manitoba on the west and James Bay on the north, and forming three-fourths of the area of the province, nature is still supreme; and, indeed, in all of the province north and north-west of a line drawn roughly from Kingston to Orillia the forests still predominate and always will do so.

Again, in the Trent Canal basin, the government works have done much to conserve the water and produce a more uniform flow in that watershed. This leaves for our consideration only the central and western part of Old Ontario, where the

chief effect of cleared land on the flow of streams is to be seen, and where there are now no water powers worth consideration except those of the Niagara escarpment, but where 1,500,000 people are extensively engaged in manufacturing occupations. It is not at all probable that any of the strictly arable portion of Ontario will be allowed to revert to forest, but it is the writer's view that enormous tracts of land in central Ontario, such as that district in the northern part of Hastings or Addington, should be brought back to the crown and a systematic reforestation taken in hand by the provincial government.

We are nearer to exhaustion in our supply of pine than is generally supposed. Intelligent foresight should provide for a generation yet unborn by replanting and forming forests in the barren parts of the province, while at the same time conserving the waters of those districts so as to improve the existing water powers.

Broadly speaking we have many millions of horse power of water running to waste all over the province, and at the same time millions of dollars going out of the province annually to buy coal in Pennsylvania, and far greater millions to buy manufactured goods made up and purchased in places where power is cheap and labour plentiful.

This does not speak well for the intelligence or courage of the people of this province, and it behooves every one interested in the welfare of the present generation in this our own province and country to consider what can be done to improve matters.

It is only quite recently that it has been fully demonstrated that electricity can be made by water power where it is located, transmitted to a distance, and there used with certainty and economy in such varied utilities as lighting, pumping, operating all kinds of machinery for factories, mills, and railroads, and in smelting and electrolytic processes. But now that this has been abundantly proven, the whole question resolves itself into this : Will it pay to invest money in a given water power development devoted to the production of electricity which is to be carried a certain distance and distributed to consumers ?

Naturally the more intelligent members of a community are the first to know the answer to such a question, and the first to carry the matter to a successful conclusion. Thus we

find in our midst many companies, each comprised of a few private individuals, formed to get control of certain natural monopolies in the form of water powers and make a profit by such control.

In the consideration of any given water power certain prominent items such as the following must be satisfactory.

The natural flow of water must be sufficient, otherwise large storage reservoirs must be created.

Ice troubles must be surmountable.

Capital cost must be moderate.

There must be a market for the power.

In regard to storage, this may be required only during each night in order to carry a larger load in the daytime, and, if so, is generally feasible ; but a storage sufficient to carry a power plant through a dry season is generally out of the question unless natural lakes exist.

Ice troubles may be eliminated if a large body of still water can be formed immediately above the power house. Rapids immediately upstream are apt to create trouble by forming frail or slush ice, clogging the wheels and racks and filling the forebay.

Capital cost, however, is the chief item and varies greatly, depending on the cost of dams and other headworks, the length of head canal or penstocks, and the fall between the head and tail waters, this latter affecting the cost of the hydraulic machinery and power house.

Roughly speaking, the capital investment for well built plants varies from \$50 to \$100 per horse power of electrical energy ready to transmit to a distance.

The plants at Niagara Falls, Ont., and vicinity, all come well below \$100 per h.p., and as the cost of maintaining and operating them, as well as providing a sinking fund and paying interest on investment, are fairly well known, it is evident that in that district power should be bought for a very reasonable figure. As a matter of fact at present sales of large blocks of power are yet infrequent, but a recent sale at \$12.50 per 24 hours horse power per year on the bus-bars, or receivers of the step-up transformer station, will give a close indication of values.

Thus far the question from a citizen's point of view is fairly simple. But, beyond, all is darkness. Mystical terms awe the inquisitive, and out of all the confusion of volts, cycles, phases, ammeters and induction motors, only one fact crystallises,—the monthly bills are very high and the operating company intimates that prompt payment is necessary to prevent a small wire from being removed and the customer left powerless and benighted.

There are, however, some fundamental principles regarding transmission of power which any one may grasp and remember. There are certain variants, namely, cost of copper or aluminium wire and insulators, the distance the power must be transmitted, safe voltages for a particular climate, style of pole construction, etc., which taken along with assumed cost of power at the step-up station at generating point, all go to work out a definite cost of power at the low tension bus-bars of the step-down station ready for distribution to various consumers throughout a city or town. Now with a given voltage the cost of copper will determine how much loss of power per mile can be economically accepted, but with a given transmission line the higher the voltage the less will be the loss of power, and therefore the transmission voltage has steadily increased from 11,000 volts of ten years ago to 60,000 volts at present, and 80,000 volts in an experimental stage. The limiting features are the expense and difficulty in providing insulation and the leakage and air emanation of current under such high pressure, so that we may consider further increase more difficult and dangerous.

In considering the distribution of power amongst a large number of consumers it must be borne in mind that one may use it for ten hours at a variable rate and another twenty-four hours at a steady rate. The latter should naturally pay far less per unit of power than the former. One of the greatest difficulties that distributing companies have to overcome is to so adjust loads that their plant may have capacity at certain times of day (called peak of load), when street railways, electric lights and factories are all pulling, and yet not be idle or nearly so at other periods during the 24 hours. This is met in many ways. Special inducements are offered to consumers who will

shut down at 4 p.m. in winter ; also to factories working a night shift instead of a day one. Again, a steam reserve plant may be kept by the electrical company to give additional power at critical times, and, finally, around Niagara Falls, the charge for electrical energy is often made in two parts : one, a fixed charge per year, which means that the company must be at all times prepared to supply power up to the capacity of the particular motors installed in a given factory, and a second or additional charge for the actual amount of power consumed. The sum of these two charges will be less or more per horse power used, depending on how closely the consumption approximates to the full capacity of the motor.

Niagara is a great natural source of perpetual energy, far greater than will be needed for many generations—the pessimists to the contrary notwithstanding—and the whole question is this : The cost of producing and transmitting electrical power being fairly well known, who is going to use it, how much will be used, and what will the companies charge for it ?

The problem is vast and intricate, it involves the investment of many millions, it suggests the relegation of many partly worn out steam equipments to the scrap heap, but this will not be so universal as some enthusiasts might imagine. There are many situations where steam is required in factories for other purposes than power ; also in many industries waste material may be used as fuel. But for lighting, electric railways, pumping, and for a large proportion of mills and factories, especially new ones, Niagara power will dominate an area in Ontario roughly bounded by Toronto, Guelph, Waterloo, Stratford, St. Mary's, London, St. Thomas, and Simcoe. Beyond this it is not probable that it can successfully compete with power generated in an economical manner from cheap coal, oil, or gas.

But it is well to remember that power is only one factor in the manufacturing industries of a city, and that it can be obtained from water power as cheaply in many other parts of Ontario and Canada as at Niagara. When this takes place western Ontario will have to look to itself if it is to hold its own as the chief manufacturing centre for the supply of our Northwest.

For instance, power in Winnipeg is now costly, owing to

the excessive price of coal, but should the city carry out its expressed intention of developing one of the large water powers of the Winnipeg river and transmitting that power sixty or seventy miles to Winnipeg, there is no reason why that city should not develop quickly into a great manufacturing centre, as labour is now nearly as plentiful and cheap there as in Toronto or Hamilton. It is also interesting to consider in a rough way how much electrical power is likely to be used in the manufacturing towns or cities of the older western Ontario. Doubtless this will be somewhat accurately determined in the near future, but as a basis for present estimation we may note the fact that Buffalo, with a population of nearly 400,000, and not more than twenty-two miles from Niagara Falls, uses only 35,000 H.P. of Niagara power after the same has been on the market there for seven or eight years. Yet this amount of electrical power displaces only four or five per cent. of the total coal used in that city. Of course Buffalo has very cheap coal and it is not a very great manufacturing centre.

Now the urban population of western Ontario within economical reach of Niagara is about 550,000, and as electrical energy and coal should be both higher one will about offset the other. We may conclude, therefore, that 50,000 to 60,000 H.P. is all that will be transmitted westward from the Falls and vicinity for some years to come unless the steam railways break away and adopt electric traction on their trunk lines, in which case the consumption would at once be doubled or trebled.

Now the present condition of Niagara power may be summed up thus. The Hamilton Company, near St. Catharines, have a 16,000 H.P. capacity for twenty-four hours now developed, and propose to increase their machinery equipment to meet demands until 40,000 H.P. for ten hours will be on sale. The Canadian Niagara Power Company, allied to the Niagara Falls Power Company of the United States side of the river, have built a 100,000 H. P. plant, have 30,000 H. P. of this on sale, and 20,000 additional ready to install—50,000 in all, of which 40,000 will be available for sale. The Electrical Development Company are building a 105,000 H.P. plant, and at present con-

template installation of 40,000 H.P. of machinery, of which 30,000 H.P. will be ready to transmit in about fifteen months to Toronto and vicinity. The Ontario Power Company have 60,000 H.P. development nearly complete, 30,000 H.P. of machinery being now under test, and 40,000 H.P. additional soon to be added. But this company have headworks built for 180,000 H.P. and look forward to this as their ultimate output. Besides these there are small developments for street railway and town purposes, and along the old Welland Canal various small industries operate from water power.

But, dealing only with the four large Canadian companies, we see that 400,000 H.P. of 24 hour electrical energy is at present in course of development, and of this 146,000 H.P. of 24 hour service will soon be in the market, or even a load peak of 170,000 to 180,000 H.P. during busy hours.

Of this power 30,000 H.P. is already sold for distribution in the United States, and two of the companies have charter rights to sell one half of their output in that country. But it is evident that there will be plenty for all in a year or two, when these various companies get into good running order. Meantime an important and indeed the vital problem before the public is how to obtain effectively and on reasonable terms the great advantages of Niagara power throughout its sphere of influence.

CECIL B. SMITH.

GOD IN RELATION TO THE ATONEMENT.

A VIEW NOT DUOTHEISTIC BUT TRINITARIAN.

THE Gospels and first few chapters of the Acts of the Apostles being the record of an actual Divine mission of salvation to Israel, it is reasonable to believe that in them will be found the basis of a true conception of God in relation to the Atonement. This paper proceeds on such a belief. In its order of discussion the conclusion, construed in terms of fatherhood freely enlarged on, is stated first; then follow the reasons for that conclusion, viz., two interpretations of the Lord Jesus Christ—one in his relation to Israel, the other in his relation to God—both drawn from a consideration of the historical documents.

A true conception of human fatherhood and sonship is not satisfied with the mere idea of generation, neither does the simple idea of creation satisfy the conception of God as father of mankind, nor that of eternal generation satisfy the conception of Father and Son in the being of God. The basis and bond of the relationship in each case is love, love carrying in it the reciprocal obligations of love, and the mutual experiences of love. The completeness of relationship between the Father and Jesus is not wholly expressed, even in the words, "This is my beloved Son." It requires in explication of its fulness, "in whom I am well pleased." This actual between the Father and the Son is the ideal for the Divine Father and his human child. Jesus says, "these things have I spoken unto you that my joy in you may be (abiding) and that your joy may be fulfilled." (John xv, 9-11). The same note is struck in, "he for the joy that was set before him endured the cross" (Heb. xii, 2); also in "there is joy in the presence of the angels of God" (Luke xv, 10), and in several other passages. But it is also told that, in these relations, love to be experienced by the one as a joy is dependent on the fulfilment by the other of love's obligations: "I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love", "If ye keep my commandments ye shall abide in my love" (Jno. xv, 9-11). Thus the question arises, What is

experienced by the Divine Father, and what is the outcome of that experience, when His human child fails to act out the obligations of love?

In the purely human sphere it is matter of observation that a father, who is righteous and loving in his nature, experiences a feeling of deep pain over the unrighteousness of his loved child. This pain, with its impulse toward the child, and its outcome in the treatment of the child, is, to use a technical term, the "resultant" of the father's righteousness and love centred on the unrighteous child ; for righteousness and love, resident in a living person, are not abstract qualities, but powers that act according to the order of a spiritual dynamics. Looking more closely at the father under these active energies, there is observed, first, the truth that is embodied in the oft-heard expression, "that son is bringing down his father with sorrow to the grave." The father suffers for, *i.e.*, because of, the wrongdoing of his child. Yet notice particularly that while the pain of the father, because of his righteousness and love, is the real and true consequence of his son's evil of life, it is not the same as the consequences entailed on the son as the evil-doer. The boy blunts his conscience, fosters the power of evil 'habit, is affected in his physical nature by the corruption which he sowed. These consequences the father, the spiritual sufferer, neither takes to himself nor has imposed on him. Thus the suffering of the father is not the result of a fictitious transaction. He suffers because he is righteous and loves. His suffering is his own and is as truly connected with the son's sin as the son's afflictions are.

Let there be observed, secondly, in the pain of the father a suffering which has for its object the good of the child. A boy does wrong and the father administers a whipping. Here righteousness does not act by itself as retributive justice in the whipping, and then love intervene to bring the child to repentance and to grant him forgiveness. To a forgiven child it may seem that they do, for the outward act of the whipping preceded the outward act of forgiveness. In the father's thought the whipping was chastisement, the outcome of just as much love as righteousness, and the forgiveness was the aim of the chastisement realized, the outcome of just as much right-

eousness as love. If the righteousness and the love do not act together toward the disobedient child, then there is no pain in the father, and the whipping is pure penalty to satisfy the demands of retributive justice. But suppose that the penalty has been endured by the child, and the justice satisfied, is it not a fact that for any benefit to the character of the child repentance would still be necessary ; a repentance which love alone in the father (justice having been satisfied by payment of penalty) could not ask, a repentance which neither an awakened love alone, nor an awakened righteousness alone in the son could effect? The conceptions of repentance and of chastisement alike imply the united energies of righteousness and love. What the son needs to see is not that his wrong-doing carries in it painful results to himself merely, but also that it reaches out to his father's righteousness and love in such manner that his father suffers through him and for him. Realizing this, the child experiences a pain and sorrow similar to that suffered by his father on his behalf. He is pained because of his evil as against his father, moved by the pain he longs for recovery. To slightly change St. Paul's expression, "father-like sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation." The boy begins to be like his father in righteousness and love. But if the child continues unrepentant, the father in the pain of his heart continues the chastisement and follows the child, striving for his recovery in ways which manifest more and more clearly the suffering he endures, its cause and its aim. Beholding this, men say "if that lad is not moved to repentance and a new life by the misery, the tears, the efforts of his parents on his behalf, nothing will ever move him."

In the foregoing statement the spiritual truths regarding the Divine Father and his human children are, for greater freedom of diction, construed in terms of the living persons in the purely human relation of father and son. Though incomplete and imperfect it yet gives some just appreciation of the heavenly Father in relation to the sin and recovery of his children of mankind, some reasonable explanation of the vicarious suffering of the Father, and some rational apprehension of suffering as the mediant of reconciliation in the Divine Father and his human child.

Consider now the connection between such an interpretation of God in his universal relation to mankind, and the interpretation of Jesus in his limited relation to Israel. At the outset it is necessary to state that the historic mission of Jesus, as the Messiah of Israel, was not frustrated or terminated by his crucifixion. It was meant to continue, and in point of fact it did continue for as long a period as Jesus was "preached to none but Jews only" (Acts xi, 19.) As Jesus, by his words and acts, emphasized the fact that he was "not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. x, 6; xv, 24); so after his resurrection the disciples declared in God's name, "Ye are the sons of the prophets and of the covenant which God made with your fathers, . . . unto you first God having raised up his servant, sent him to bless you in turning every one of you away from his iniquities" (Acts iii, 25-26); a statement which evidently includes the whole mission, the post- as well as the ante-ascension period. It is also necessary to state with emphasis that the mission to Israel was based on an acknowledged relation between Jehovah and Israel. Jesus came as the Messiah, not to create a relationship, but to restore in Jehovah and Israel the essential activities and experiences appertaining to the existing relationship. Now the whole of Jesus' Messianic mission, as thus defined, was adapted to his aim as thus defined. This will appear on a general survey of the mission under these three divisions—his works, his words, his laying down his life in order to take it again.

The evangelist Matthew (chap. viii, 16, 17,) recording certain works of healing, completes his narrative by quoting Isaiah's words regarding the suffering servant of Jehovah, "himself took our infirmities and bare our diseases." These words in their strict literalness have no rational meaning—Jesus neither took to himself the actual infirmities of the afflicted, nor bare in himself the actual diseases of the sick, but he did take and did bear his own sufferings because of and on behalf of theirs. Matthew rightly interpreted the miracle worker as a sufferer vicariously, when he saw the pain of Jesus' heart, its cause and aim. This is the kind of vision Jesus desired. He found fault with the vision that rested on the external, that could not understand signs. On one occasion he

said, "Ye seek me not because ye saw signs, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled" (John vi, 26.) They failed to see what the exertion of power under the circumstances signified, namely, vicarious suffering, the "compassion," that power in him which moved the mere omnipotence. The miracles, while tokens of Messiahship, were also revelations of the Messiah himself. In a special way they manifested his holiness of character, and his love of his people Israel. They were the outflow of himself in his relation to Israel; their aim reached beyond the physical domain into the spiritual. The medical missions of to-day, undertaken in order to reveal God in his true relation to mankind, are examples of the outflow, and the manifestation of righteousness and love.

Jesus was a teacher of righteousness, yet that which prompted the teaching was not love of righteousness merely, nor hatred of evil merely. Beyond these was love of the people to whom he addressed himself. He taught because the unrighteousness of his people reached out to him, causing him pain, and because he longed for the satisfaction of their return to newness of life. His pronouncement of "woes" on Scribes and Pharisees (Matt. xxiii, 1-37) is often regarded as a final judicial condemnation, sometimes even as a stern and fierce denunciation of these classes, and that alone. Yet what is its touching conclusion? "Oh, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together." In the light of this, the sore anguish of his whole heart, let the passage be read over, and every "woe" will appear as wrung in pain from his holy and loving breast. Or the actual concluding words, are they uttered as if pronouncing a doom that is unalterable, fixed as mere penalty is fixed, "behold your house is left unto you desolate"? Is there not rather a longing expressed, and an effort made for their recovery, which must have been exhibited in his manner, and in the tone of his voice as he said "Ye shall not see me henceforth until ye say"—why that "until," if not that even now, at last, they might be moved to say—"blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord"? The pronouncement of the doom, as well as the doom itself, is not mere penalty, but chastisement, because it is all the outcome of holiness and love. Again, on one occasion, Jesus is

described as looking round about on Scribes and Pharisees "with anger, being grieved at the hardening of their hearts," (Mark. iii, 5). Here are the holiness and love manifested together in a look of anger and grief, the meaning and design of which can be no more effectively explained than by the result on another occasion, when Peter seenig it "went out and wept bitterly," (Luke xxii, 62). These examples are instances of what is true of Jesus in the taking up and carrying out of his Messianic mission up to the time of his crucifixion.

Jesus lays down his life that he may take it again. As his last Passover drew nigh Jesus repeatedly, and in a manner unusual before, spoke of his crucifixion and (always in connection therewith) of his rising again from the dead. In his teaching of his disciples at this time, in his parables to the public, in his interview with the Greeks, in his pronouncement of woes on Scribes and Pharisees, in his tears over Jerusalem, there is evidence of the grievous burden that oppressed him. Here is seen a suffering of heart, which in its relation to his will and character is his own voluntary suffering, for it is clear that the sinful conduct of his people could have had no such effect on him in his holiness of nature, had he not continued to love them with an unchanging love. He does not draw back, he does not by a fiat of his power take away the freedom of will of his people, he does not give them permission to sin—how could he give them such permission when his nature and will are wholly opposed to sin—his holy nature recoils from the sin of his people that he is passing through ; but in love to them, and, as it were by an effort of love, he takes and bears his load of suffering, going forward in the spirit and feeling expressed by the words, "he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem." In view of all this surely it is not mere fancy that interprets the suffering in Gethsemane, when the crisis had arrived, not as a shrinking from the pain of physical suffering and death ; but as, under the bitter affliction and dire distress of his holy nature and love of Israel, a shrinking from the cup of having to pass unto that death through and by the sinning of his own loved people. He would see them brought to repentance at the last moment if it were possible, rather than have them continue in their sin unto its fruition. Nor surely is it mere fancy that re-

gards him resigned, in conformity with the Father's will, to lay down his life, so that he may take it again, and in the risen life carry on anew his mission of salvation even to the guilty takers of his life, offering to them forgiveness for this and all their sin. In Jesus' Messianic mission the laying down of his life cannot be separated from the taking again of his life. For confirmation let a short review be made of the post-ascension mission. In not one of the recorded addresses of this period, to rulers or people, is the death of Jesus mentioned apart from the resurrection. The resurrection and ascension are always regarded as connected with the Messianic mission of salvation, *e.g.*, "He is exalted a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance to Israel and remission of sin." In every case there is a contrast stated between Israel and the God of Israel, *e.g.*, "Ye delivered up and denied," "the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God your fathers glorified." The belief which underlies a preaching so characterized, not only holds the crucifixion of Jesus and his risen life to be related, and both to be related to Israel, it also holds the crucifixion to be related to Israel as the consequence, though not the penalty, of Israel's sin. Hence the preaching lays the responsibility for the Messiah's death at Israel's door, and it so charges the people with guilt and condemnation that they cry out in anguish of heart, "What shall we do?" It also relates the risen-life mission to the crucifixion and to Israel as the glorious sequence of the suffering and death of the Messiah, wherein proclamation is graciously made to Israel of forgiveness and righteousness on repentance of their awful deed. Jesus laid down his life in order that he might take it again. The external historic connection is vital, because it manifests and is in its parts the pain of holiness and love, and the aim and impulse of that pain.

Turn now to the interpretation of Jesus Christ in his relation to God. The Son is the revealer of God—Father, Son, Spirit. He is to the unseen God what the articulate language of man is to the unseen personality of man, the expression of Him. In expression he is not confined to one form or one sphere of activity (John i, 1-19). The constitution and course of nature are his work, and are in such manner the outcome of himself, that when rightly understood they reveal God, even in

his relation to sinful men. The institutions, ritual, order and life of Israel, under the Mosaic economy, mark his coming in Providence to his own people and thus reveal God. So, too, Jesus in the activities of human life in his Messianic mission is the manifestation of God. This remarkable statement by the Evangelist John, of a triad of modes of revelation by the Son, has deep significance in the interpretation of Jesus Christ in his relation to God. The activity of the Son may be in a mode and process that is natural, it may be in an order that is providential, it may be in a life that is human; in each case the activity is his own, and so it is primarily an unfolding of truth respecting himself the Son. Then, seeing that there are no distinctions of character, nature and attribute in God, but only distinctions of office and function, the revelation of Himself is equally the revelation of the Father and the Spirit. In not one of these three spheres of activity can this method of revelation of the Father by the Son be of the nature of a direct operation on the Father.

Testimony more explicit is borne by Jesus himself that, in the sense indicated by John, he is the revealer of God. It would be a work of supererogation to enumerate the many declarations of Jesus regarding his oneness of mind, purpose, character, will and work with the Father. These declarations are evidences of his own abiding consciousness, a consciousness of unity which made possible his answer to Philip, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (Jno. xiv, 9). Now the fact that Jesus is conscious of such unity is surely conclusive testimony that his conception of God—Father, Son, Spirit—excludes such distinctions as would make it possible to hold that he, by any act of his, could harmonize or satisfy something in the nature of the Father, which it was impossible for the Father to satisfy in himself; or to hold that there was in the nature of the Father something needing satisfaction, that did not equally and in the same way need satisfaction in the Son's nature. His conception of God is, that such is the intimacy of the relations subsisting in God, such the sameness of attributes, such the sameness of attitude to man, such the sameness of the working together of the attributes, that through the activities of his mission to Israel revealing Himself, he reveals also the Father and the Spirit.

Seeing then that the Son is the revealer, in this sense, of God, and that Jesus in his mission to Israel is the Son, in his activities and work of salvation under the conditions of humanity—time, place, nationality, circumstance—the whole mission, belonging where it is found in its historic place in the world's life, is yet the revelation of the universal mission of God to mankind. Neither in whole, nor in any one part, is the limited mission to Israel a universal mission in the strict sense of the term ; but it is the key to the universal, in that it is a certain definite part of the universal, in which the Missioner works under such conditions that he may be clearly seen, known and understood. When through the limited mission Jesus is interpreted, when that interpretation is held to belong to him as the Son, and when the function of the Son as revealer of God is recognized, then the universal emerges. The mission of Jesus Christ, his Cross and his risen-life mission belong where they are found historically, but Himself, interpreted through the historical, belongs to all mankind, of every race, throughout all time. Through the Cross—not “in”, as if the accumulated sin of the whole world, in all its life history, were gathered at that point of place and time, and circumstance, which is unreal and unhistorical in the way it relates Israel's sin to the world's salvation—through the Cross and the risen-life mission, for they are inseparable, through these the seen and temporal is beheld the unseen, the spiritual of surpassing glory ; viz., God, the holy God, so loving every one of his human children that the unrighteousness of his loved child brings pain and suffering to his own heart, the spiritual sacrifice of the Holy God of Love because of the loved child's sin, and in order to the removal of the loved child's sin.

Furthermore (but this is in addition to the historical records) the truth of the interpretation here given through Jesus Christ of God in relation to atonement, is borne out by those passages of Scripture, which point to a spiritual suffering in God on behalf of men. “Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God” (Ephes. iv, 30,) is an exhortation to Christians, giving them the most highly persuasive motive possible, in order to their avoidance of sin. The power of the appeal lies in the fact that sin lays a burden of suffering on the Spirit. This

spiritual crucifixion cannot be conceived of, except as the resultant of the Spirit's holiness and love centred on the one who should commit sin. Again : "The Spirit himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered, and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because the Spirit maketh intercession for the saints, according to God" (Rom. viii, 26, 27). Now, the intercession of the Spirit with groanings, the mind of the Spirit, and the intercession of the Spirit for the saints, all refer to a burdened yearning of the Spirit, because of men's sin, and in order to redemption from sin. But this suffering intercession or yearning of the Spirit is declared to be according to God who searcheth the hearts, *i.e.*, it is according to God's character, mind, will and feeling. This can only denote a similar burdened yearning in the Father. As sin reaches out to and affects the Son, so it reaches out to and affects the Father and the Spirit. The living God, the Father of mankind—Father, Son, Spirit—suffers because of the sin of his human children, and yearns and works for their recovery from sin and their restoration to his own likeness, that in the result his joy in them may be abiding, and their joy be fulfilled.

JAMES FRASER.

Cushing, Que.

THE POET WAGNER AND PARSIFAL.

RICHARD WAGNER, the youngest of seven children, was born in Leipzig on May 22nd, 1813, just when Germany was throwing off the French yoke. The battle-field of Leipzig gave rise to an epidemic fever, which carried off his father when Richard was only six months old. His mother married Ludwig Geyer, who was at once an actor, a writer of comedies, and a portrait painter. Under the combined influence of his mother ("liebes Mütterchen," as he called her), his versatile father, and the surroundings of theatre and opera, young Richard received his first bent in the direction of music and the stage. He early became enthusiastic about Weber's *Freischütz*, and whenever permission to see the performance was refused, would watch the clock and with tears not far off would say "Now they are giving this, now that." As a boy, too, he developed a fondness for animals, a trait which is beautifully illustrated in *Parsifal*.

If Weber was the boy Wagner's hero, it was Beethoven who took possession of the young man, and to Beethoven it is due that he decided to give himself to music. Before he reached the age of seventeen he composed a symphony which had a curious history. Neglected until recently, and only recently rediscovered, it was desired by a Berlin concert manager, who was willing to pay Wagner's heirs \$12,500 for the exclusive use of it for one year only. In 1832 he began the composition of operas, writing at brief intervals *The Wedding*, *The Fairies*, and *The Novice of Palermo*, operas which are now rarely if ever staged. The chief dramatic interest of *The Novice of Palermo* lies in the fact that the plot is adapted from Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. Its subject was Love, a theme of which his operas furnish a deeper and deeper interpretation. In this early opera Wagner finds himself in revolt against Puritanism and upholds what he in later life condemned as "unchecked sensuality."

In 1836 Wagner, who was by instinct and necessity a wanderer, went from Magdeburg to Königsberg, and in 1837 to Riga, leaving a trail of debt and annoyance behind him.

In Königsberg he married Wilhelmine Planer, a pretty and amiable actress, who, however little she was able to understand his aspirations, was a faithful wife. But she paid the penalty of marrying a supersensitive genius, who has permitted himself to write: "I was in love, married in a fit of obstinate recklessness, tortured myself and others under the disagreeable influence of a home without the means to keep it up, and thus sank into the misery which ruins thousands upon thousands." In 1864, after separation from his wife, he wrote "Between me and my wife all might have turned out well. I had simply spoiled her dreadfully and yielded to her in everything. She did not feel that I am a man who cannot live with wings tied down. What did she know of the divine right of passion which I announce in the flame-death of the Valkyrie, who has fallen from the grace of the gods? With the death-sacrifice of love the Götterdämmerung (dusk of the gods) sets in." It would have been better for the genius of Wagner if he had consumed more of his own smoke. In 1870 he married the daughter of Liszt, who suited herself to his requirements, and the marriage was what is called happy.

But to return. From Riga Wagner travelled to Paris, and the bitter months he spent in that city served only to confirm him in a rebellion against not only his private lot, but all the conditions of life. Under the dominion of these feelings he composed "*The Flying Dutchman*," an opera whose hero roams the wide waste of waters seeking a rest he can never find unless some maiden will by her love redeem him from a curse which he has brought upon himself. The beautiful ballad, sung by Senta, the heroine, contains a picture of the storm-tossed soul. It runs (in Mr. J. P. Jackson's translation):

Yohohoe! Yohohoe! Yohohoe!
 Saw ye the ship on the raging deep—
 Blood red the canvas, black the mast?
 On board unceasing watch does keep
 The vessel's master, pale and ghast!
 Hui! How roars the wind! Yohohoe!
 Hui! How bends the mast! Yohohoe!
 Hui! Like an arrow she flies,
 Without aim, without goal, without rest!
 Yet can the weary man be released from the curse infernal
 Find he on earth a woman who'll pledge him her love eternal.

Ah ! where canst thou, weary seaman, but find her ?
 Oh pray to heaven that she
 Unto death may faithful be !

II.

Once round the Cape he wished to sail
 'Gainst 'trary winds and raging seas,
 He swore—"tho' hell itself prevail,
 I'll sail on till eternity !"
 Hui ! This Satan heard ! Yohohoe !
 Hui ! Took him at his word ! Yohohoe !
 Hui ! And accursed now he sails,
 Through the Sea, without aim, without rest !
 But that the weary man be freed from the curse infernal
 Heaven shall send him an angel to win him glory eternal.
 Oh could'st thou, weary seaman, but find her !
 Oh pray that heaven may soon
 In pity grant him this boon !

III.

At anchor every seventh year,
 A wife to woo he wanders round ;
 He wooed each seventh year but ne'er
 A faithful woman has he found !
 Hui ! The sails are set ! Yohohoe !
 Hui ! The anchor's weighed ! Yohohoe !
 Hui ! False the love, false the troth !

(that is to say, he is betrayed every seventh year by the failure
 of the woman to abide by her plighted word ; so Senta sings
 at the close of her song),

Thou shalt be freed, yea, through my heart's devotion !
 Oh, that God's angel guidance gave him !
 Here he shall find my love to save him !

He finds the true maiden at last, and perhaps not altogether in
 vain, although they immediately perish in the sea in each
 other's arms. As yet Love, the Saviour, as Wagner conceives
 it, comes in quite too miraculous and external a way, and pro-
 vides no earthly career for its devotee.

From Paris Wagner moved to Dresden, and spent there
 seven busy years trying to reveal to the public the value of
 Bach, and especially Beethoven ; and this sane occupation
 had a beneficent effect upon his art. He at this time wrote two
 operas, which are to this day the most popular of his works,
Lohengrin and *Tannhäuser*, although the order of composition
 was *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* *Tannhäuser*, a travelling

singer of the 13th century, a time when the Church regarded heaven as opposed to earth, Tannhäuser, I say, falls under the charms of Holda, the northern Venus, and takes up his abode with her in the interior of Venusberg. But he soon feels his better part of man slipping away from him. Surrounded by the artificial dazzle of a mountain grotto he recalls the flowers and free air of the outer world, and, above all, remembers a maiden who had once shown him special regard. Summoning his manhood and calling aloud the name of this young girl, Elizabeth, he breaks Holda's spell and awakes in a lovely valley of flowers and clear waters. There his former companions and rivals in song discover him, and soon a new contest is decided on, for which Elizabeth is to award the prize. They sing of love, but in such a colourless and unimpassioned way that Tannhäuser, driven to extremes, proclaims his allegiance to Holda. Immediately he is adjudged worthy of death, but his punishment by the intercession of Elizabeth, whose heart is broken, is changed to exile. In an agony of self-accusation he goes on a pilgrimage to Rome to plead for absolution, but is met by the cold and curt announcement that he may expect pardon if his pilgrim's staff breaks into bloom—not before. He returns home at enmity with mankind and resolved to find consolation once again in Venusberg. But other influences have been at work. Ever since his departure for Rome Elizabeth has passed from mountain-shrine to mountain-shrine interceding for the man she loved. If the Pope has pardoned him, she reasons, her lover will return with the band of pilgrims, and breathlessly, in a narrow mountain gorge, herself unseen, she watches them pass by, singing their pious songs. He is not there, and the cruel disappointment after the long vigil snaps the thread of her life. Storming back half insane under the repulse of the representative of Christianity, and making for his old haunts, Tannhäuser is met by a faithful friend and again turned from his purpose by the tale of Elizabeth's devotion. But for him, too, the sands of the glass are run, and as he dies his staff bursts into bloom. In this opera love is seen to involve a new birth and is neither "unchecked sensuality" nor shadowy impersonal charity; but, like the dove sent from the ark, it cannot yet find any resting place on earth.

Lohengrin carries on the story of the author's faith in a love impossible to man, and has for its background the service of the Holy Grail, whose knights, the champions of all distress, are forbidden to tell who they are or whence they come. Out of the infinite, then, like Raphael's Madonna, bringing the beauty and mystery and selfless devotion of the worshippers of the Grail into our mortal sphere, comes Lohengrin, transported by a white swan. He takes the part of the forlorn and beautiful Elsa, who is wrongly accused of having made away with her brother's life, and marries her on the strict condition that she does not ask after his name. But alas for human frailty ("and constancy lives in realms above") the fatal question is put, and they part, never to meet again, Lohengrin returning to the unfathomed distance, borne away by the swan, and Elsa's life going out in a despairing cry.

With his burning devotion to seemingly unrealizable ideals, and his disdain of the common life, it is not surprising that Wagner should have been implicated in the political revolution of 1848. He was forced to flee, betaking himself first to Weimar and then to Paris, and for the next six years, owing to the doubtful reception given his works by the critics, lives not by music but by literature. During the last three of these years he fashions one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of his poems, *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. When set to music this poem constituted four separate and yet connected operas, a splendid tetralogy, namely, *Rheingold*, *Walküre*, *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung*, the progress of the story requiring that order, although the order of composition was exactly the reverse. Goethe, as we know, wrote his *Faust* in a somewhat similar way.

To tell the wonderful story of the ring of the Niebelung and to discuss its meaning are impossible in this article; but the crowning motive can at least be mentioned, Wagner himself being the interpreter. In the words already quoted, when speaking of the narrow range of his wife's interests, he asks "What did she know of the divine right of passion which I announce in the flame-death of the Valkyrie, who has fallen from the grace of the gods? With the death-sacrifice of love the *Götterdämmerung* (the twilight of the gods) sets in."

Brünhilde, the heroine of the myth, gives up all her rights as an immortal for the sake of the mortal Siegfried,—the elder gods insisting, indeed, on her expulsion from Valhalla. But what is intended by them to purge the celestial halls from stain is really a judgment against themselves. To expel love from the home of the gods is to destroy heaven. Hence in a gigantic and awe-inspiring scene the walls, columns and arches of Valhalla crash and crumble, and the gods themselves are overwhelmed in the ruin. But righteous as their doom is, it fares little better with Brünhilde, against whose happiness too many evil forces are arrayed. Her husband, Siegfried, losing all his memory under the working of a disastrous charm, forgets his wife and is slain by his enemies. His funeral pyre is built high, and as the flames rush upward she leaps upon the back of her beloved steed and rides into the fire, love triumphing in its self-sacrifice at the very moment when the loveless Pantheon is being destroyed.

So once again we hear the refrain that there is nothing real in life but love, and yet that love can find no place to lay its head. Is this, then, the complete message of Wagner? Or has he something more to say? He ought to have. What comes up almost of its own accord in our minds has been for some time welling up irrepressibly in his. If this were all, we would be compelled to say "Oh, the pity of it," and that idea, the idea of pity, of sympathy with the deep-seated limitations of life, was already shaping itself in Wagner's consciousness. It is interesting to know that he had meditated and partly planned an opera with Jesus as its centre, but for different reasons had been deterred from completing his design. In the meantime, in more direct accord with his mythological studies, and also more in conformity with his ground-idea, there was fashioned in his imagination a character and a music, which, until recently in New York and elsewhere on this continent, had been seen and heard only at Bayreuth. The character was Parsifal, and the opera bears his name.

Away in the fastnesses of Northern Spain rises the home of the Knights of the Grail, the castle of Montsalvat, over whose towers and warders hangs a heavy pall. Of the two sacred treasures of the castle, which it was the special task of the knights

to preserve, the cup used at the Last Supper, and subsequently containing the blood which flowed from the Redeemer's side, and the spear with which the wound had been made, one, namely the spear, had through the sin of Amfortas, their king, fallen into the hands of Klingsor, the eternal seducer of mankind, occupying another castle hard by. By means of a bevy of enchantresses Klingsor had from time to time succeeded in alluring a number of the retinue of Amfortas, and finally in wounding Amfortas himself with his own captured spear. The wound in the king's side was the outward mark of the wound in his spirit, both distressing to the last degree. A prophecy had gone forth that Amfortas could not be cured except by an Innocent made wise by fellow-suffering,

"Durch mitleid wissend
Der reine Thor,"

and as the scene opens, and the call is heard to make way for the king, an air of expectation and hope subtly pervades the audience. For the moment, however, we must wait while a wild figure, bringing from distant Arabia a rare balsam, attracts attention. It is Kundry, by whose surpassing loveliness Amfortas had previously been beguiled, but now and for a time, freed from Klingsor's power, seeks in the days of repentance to repair the mischief she had done. She has a curiously dual office to fill (suggesting, shall we say, Wagner's idea of the role of woman in the world?), playing now the part of servant, and later, through the arts of Klingsor, the part of the fell charmer, in the hope of destroying the soul of Parsifal. Quickly after the king has passed to his bath and Kundry has fallen in utter fatigue upon the ground, a noise is heard, and a swan, wounded by an arrow and at the point of death, falls upon the ground. Attendants roughly bring forward the unfortunate hunter, the very person, it happens, who by a slow process of enlightenment is to be fitted to redeem Amfortas; but that is yet a long way off. A dignified elderly knight leads the new arrival, innocently proud of the accuracy of his aim, up to the dying bird, and bids him observe narrowly the consequence of his action. He points to the fallen wing, the broken eye, the ebbing life, telling him at the same time that he has violated the law of the place, where all life is

sacred. Parsifal, conscience-smitten, breaks his bow. He is called a "pure" or "guileless fool," because he is an instrument not yet tuned, indeed, but containing the possibilities of the highest harmonies. He expresses his sorrow, and the process of becoming wise through pity is already begun.

Immediately he receives another blow. Captivated by the glitter of a travelling band he had left his widowed mother and wandered from home, and is now informed by Kundry that his mother, after vainly watching for his return, has died of a broken heart. Parsifal is staggered by the tidings and as if by the penetration of a sharp sword becomes aware of the sorrows which make so large a part of a mother's love. The elderly knight, Gurnemanz, has been closely watching the effect upon Parsifal of his new experiences, and divines that he is in the presence of the promised redeemer. At once he seeks to lead him to Amfortas, and by an unusual stage contrivance the scenery is made to move in such a way that the characters appear to be walking in the opposite direction, and to arrive in time at the castle of Montsalvat. Here, however, the good Gurnemanz receives an unexpected shock, since Parsifal stands dumb and cold before the anguish of Amfortas. The agony of the man placed in a position of leadership, and yet conscious of unworthiness, appointed to pass to the lips of his stainless retinue the holy cup, his own hands defiled, is a spiritual condition of which Parsifal has had no experience. He is interested in the rite, but is unmoved. He must find the possibility of the same sad downfall within himself, and though tempted rise above temptation, suffering being tempted, if he is to succour those who have fallen. Gurnemanz, who has built high hopes on the innocent stranger, witnesses his impassive demeanour with cruel disappointment and pushes him away.

Now comes the final testing of Parsifal. Klingsor with his supernatural prescience is aware of the peril brewing for his black reign, and is determined to employ all his nefarious engines to effect Parsifal's defeat. A garden of surpassing tropical beauty is disclosed, filled with bewitching flower-maidens. Parsifal easily scatters the outside defenders of this Eastern paradise and comes into contact with the subtle spells

inside. With the lovely girls he, the innocent, is entirely willing to play at any pastime, but is not otherwise affected by their charms. At last, when about to walk impatiently away, he is arrested by the sound of his own name, and turns to behold the most ravishing vision ever presented to mortal eye, Kundry, once again the temptress. The plot is woven with matchless guile, since Kundry wins the young man's interest by telling him the details of his mother's last sad days, and, when the moment is ripe, plants upon his lips a kiss which, while ostensibly his mother's farewell, is really a summons to his passion. The slumbering fires of longing are awakened within him, as he feels the delight and at the same time the pain of the new emotion. But his innocence works as rapidly as his passion, and in the very instant of his supreme temptation, becoming conscious that he is weak as water, disjointed as sand, he calls aloud the name of Amfortas. His own weakness is the tie which binds him more strongly than triple steel to his fellow-beings, and in withstanding temptation he has at last become a man. Klingsor in consternation at the failure of his designs hurls at Parsifal the sacred spear, which, though it reaches Parsifal, hangs in air above his head; and as the young hero grasps it, the evil magician and his following wither away.

But the goal is not yet won. For many a long year Parsifal wanders about, facing in one form and another the evils and discouragements of life, always preserving but never employing against his foes the magic spear; and at last, purified like gold tried in the furnace, he lights once more on the kingdom of the Grail. The rest is easily told. Gurnemanz, now an old man, recognizes the long-lost Parsifal, and Kundry, who is the servant of Gurnemanz, is delighted to perform for the newly found deliverer offices which the repentant Magdalen performed for Christ. Both accompany him to Montsalvat, where in a most impressive scene, in which the Grail has a conspicuous place, King Amfortas is healed. Parsifal, too, has fulfilled his mission, has done what it was foretold he should do, that which lay deep within his nature as its noblest fulfilment. He was straightened till it was accomplished—wandering in the deserts of unsatisfied hope, and living the hard life of a redeemer of

his kind. He did not fail, but, having descended into hell, wins the crown. That is the perpetual miracle worked by every real man who though surrounded by darkness believes in light, though aware of his own weakness never abandons his faith that what is good and true and beautiful will ultimately triumph.

Such is an outline of Wagner's last work. Difficulties arise indeed. It would have been better if Parsifal had been in the end less aggressively self-confident. It would have been better if Wagner could have found in the new world a place for Kundry, who is represented as falling lifeless when Amfortas is healed. The supreme lightheartedness and even gaiety of the greatest masters, the simplicity which is more than the innocence of children, because it is founded on experience, are lacking in Wagner. But his message is not to be lightly set aside, especially when we bear in mind the process by which it was shaped, and as we look at his portrait (the one by Lenbach) we grow to like the deep lines upon his face. Nor is it uninteresting, especially for English-speaking peoples, to notice the intimate union in one single work of poetry, music, religion and the stage.

S. W. DYDE.

THE NEW SILVER DISTRICT.

IT is not often that the construction of a railway brings to light a rich mineral deposit. The builders of the Canadian Pacific stumbled upon our nickel-copper ores, but did not know what they had found. The railway usually follows rather than precedes or accompanies mineral exploration. The prospector in nearly every case must work far away from the lines of transportation. He must sooner or later carry in his canoe or on his back everything necessary to his calling. He is the true pioneer. When the successful Arctic expedition finally reaches the North Pole they will probably find there those chippings of rock which show where the prospector's hammer has fallen. They may even find that the long sought Pole has been converted into a discovery post! Timber is scarce up north! Yes, the prospector is a man for whom the untrodden wilds have a peculiar fascination, not only because they are untrodden, but because their wildness may give to him the precious stores never before looked upon by an appreciative eye. Too often, indeed, he chases a will-o'-the-wisp. His search may be long and still unrewarded. And, such are the peculiar chances of mineral discovery, one who is not looking for minerals may stumble upon something of great value, just as a man may find a purse or a roll of bills. So the blacksmith La Rose, sharpening drills on the right of way of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, stumbled upon the niccolite when, so it is said, he went to pick up his hammer which he had thrown at a rabbit. But the discovery was sure to have been made in a short time, even if there had been no La Rose and no rabbit. The beautiful coppery mineral was within a few feet of the railway, and large pieces of native silver were lying around on the surface in a way which made the first discovery child's play. The recognition of the value of the discovery was almost immediate. The director of the Bureau of Mines, Mr. Thomas W. Gibson, was shown a piece of the niccolite and suspected its value. He was confirmed in his opinion by the Provincial Mineralogist, Professor W. G. Miller,

and by Professor Nicol, of the School of Mining. Thus it came about that two years ago next November Professors Miller and Nicol made the first informal exploration of the district, which they reached by the branch of the C.P.R. from Mattawa to Temiskaming and the steamer Meteor from that point to Haileybury on Lake Temiskaming. A walk of five miles southward from this point brought them to what is now the La Rose or Timmins mine. The same route is still followed by many who go into the district, but the T. & N.O.R. now carries them from Haileybury to Cobalt, the name first suggested by Professor Miller for the mining town. A second route to Cobalt, and the one usually taken, is by the T. & N.O.R. from North Bay. A run of 103 miles through a hilly country, diversified by numerous lakes and rivers, brings us to Cobalt, on the shore of a small lake, Cobalt Lake. Many of the richest deposits are grouped about this lake. The town plot occupies the western shore. There were in July about a dozen log houses and as many frame buildings, occupied partly as shops and partly as dwellings. Numerous tents completed the town, but the sounds of the hammer and saw were heard day and night, and now there are at least a hundred buildings there. The population of the Cobalt district is a good example of a self-governing community. Disorder is almost unknown. There were no policemen until lately, when one was sent from Toronto. There may be a few thieves and other kinds of people we could do without, but the atmosphere is one of respect for the moral law.

As at once pointed out by Professor Miller, the great richness of the district is in its silver; but there are also large values in ores of nickel, cobalt and arsenic. The valuable metal, bismuth (worth \$2.10 a pound), is also found, but no allowance is made for it by buyers of the ores. The silver is found native, sometimes in very large masses. Pieces of "float," weighing several hundred pounds, about half silver, have been found near some of the larger veins. The loose dirt near the veins may be rich in silver. At the La Rose mine they have been sacking what looked like ordinary black soil. It is worth \$250 a ton. Large slabs of pure silver are taken out of the veins, so that the mine managers are some-

times at a loss to know what to do with such obvious wealth until it can be shipped. I have seen valises full of silver lying in an open tent. Silver is worth about \$9.50 a pound. A good packer might carry off about \$1,000 worth of it if he found it with comparatively little rock.

In addition to the native silver there is in some of the veins a good deal of *argentite*, or silver sulphide, carrying over 87 per cent. of silver. As it is black and often mixed with dark decomposed rock, it may be overlooked, and doubtless in some cases has escaped notice.

The arsenides of nickel and cobalt are valuable constituents of these deposits, and in most cases they accompany the silver. In a few cases they have been found without silver. These minerals (niccolite, smaltite, chloanthite, &c.,) contain three valuable constituents, nickel, cobalt and arsenic. Nickel is used principally for nickel plating and for hardening steel (Harveyizing). It is at present sold in large lots at from 40c. to 47c. a pound. The value of cobalt, a metal closely resembling nickel, depends on the beautiful blue colour of its glass, made by melting together quartz, the oxide of cobalt, and carbonate of potash. This glass, called *smalt*, forms, when ground, the fine colour known as smalt blue.* The metal itself is used very little. The market value of the oxide is \$2.50 a lb. Much of the oxide is used in colouring enamels and porcelain. The arsenic is extracted mostly as the oxide (white arsenic) which is worth $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents a lb.

The minerals are found in the Huronian slate and conglomerate in veins ranging from fourteen inches to less than an inch in width.† These veins dip nearly vertically, and some of them have been traced for several hundred feet on the surface. In some cases the silver can be seen filling the vein in solid masses several inches wide, but it is usually mixed with more or less calcite, together with the cobalt and nickel minerals. On and near the surface these latter often decompose, giving a pink rust (cobalt bloom) or a green coating (nickel bloom).

*So often used in old paintings. It is the purest and most beautiful of all the fast blues.

†In a few cases the veins extend into the diabase, and even into the Keewatin, but with our present information the Huronian must be considered the mineral-bearing rocks.

A very narrow vein may be profitably mined. When ore is worth, say a thousand dollars a ton, it will pay to take out a good many tons of waste rock with every ton of ore. If we allow a weight of 300 lbs. for a cubic foot of ore, then for a two-inch vein, a piece one foot deep and six feet long, will weigh 300 lbs., or a ton for every forty feet of length. If such a vein is mined for a hundred feet in length and a hundred feet in depth it will yield 250 tons of ore. Allowing an average value of \$500 a ton (for the first six months of 1905 the average was \$768 a ton), the total would be worth \$125,000.* Carloads of ore have been shipped which brought \$1500 a ton and even more. It thus appears that we have here a mineral deposit which in richness and availability closely resembles those gold diggings which at intervals have caused such feverish rushes. But Luna shines with a cold light. Her devotees in Cobalt have kept cool from the first.

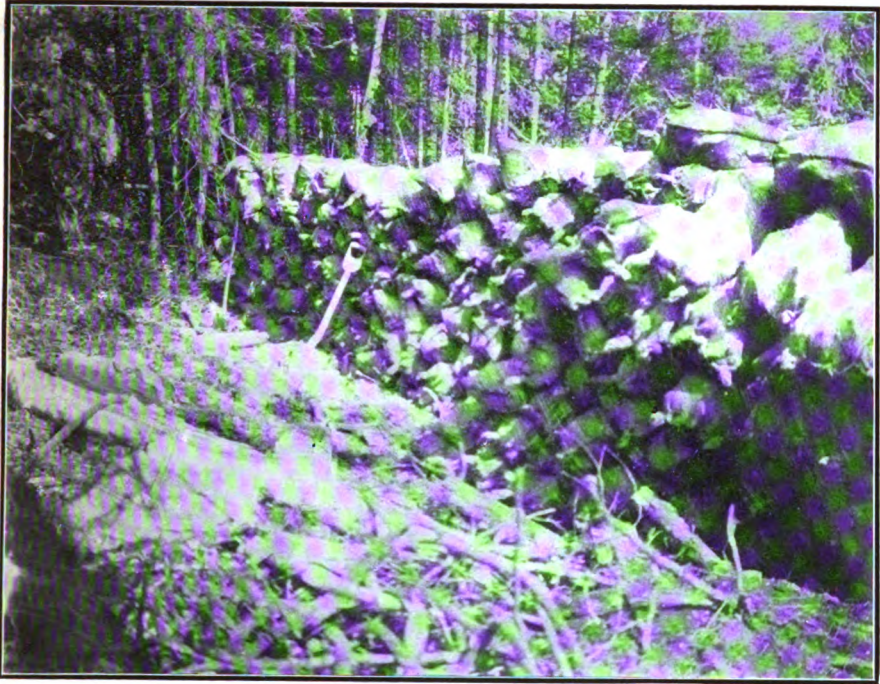
The permanence of these mines has been questioned. Even if they peter out at a depth of a hundred feet or so, they will have yielded enormously. The La Rose vein is still strong at that depth. Mining was practically begun last spring, very little ore having been taken out before. Since then ore has been raised to the value of something like two millions of dollars. It is variously estimated at from \$1,250,000 to \$2,500,000. Government returns show the value of ore SHIPPED up to June 30th to be \$684,819. But the veins are very numerous, and new ones are being discovered constantly on the properties which have been worked for some time. A forty-acre lot cannot be considered to be completely prospected until it is either stripped or systematically trenched all over. As the veins run somewhat uniformly, such systematic trenching is possible, and has been actually employed in some cases to locate a first discovery. It can thus be hoped that a considerable number of veins remain to be discovered on the claims already taken up and shown to contain the valuable minerals. These claims are nearly all included in a block of about three miles square around Cobalt. But there are some

*In addition about 8,000 to 5,000 tons of rock would be taken out. If we allow \$5 a ton for the cost of mining, the profit is obviously very large.

promising finds outside this block ; and a large amount of prospecting remains to be done before the possibilities are exhausted.

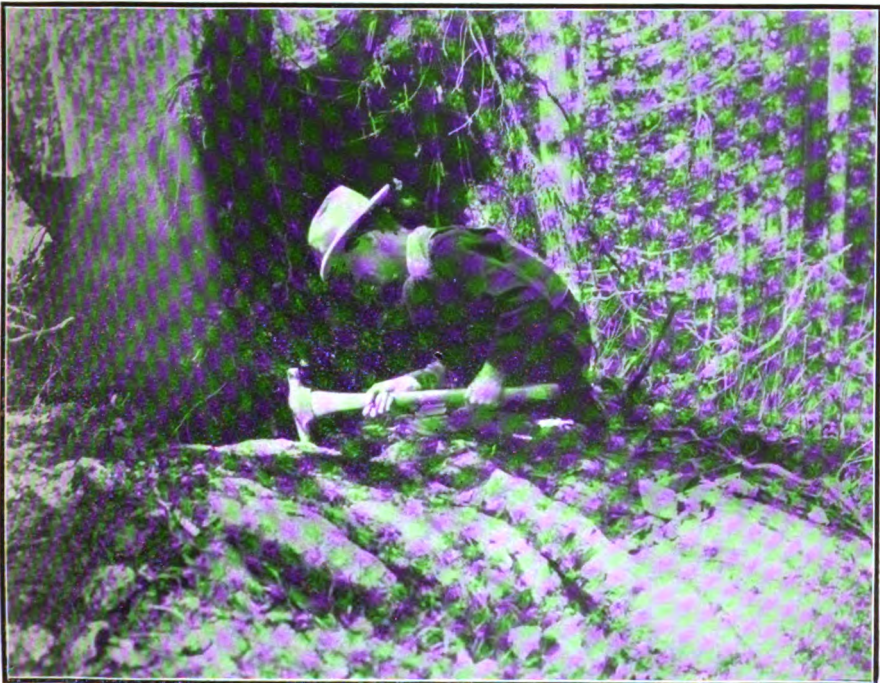
One pleasant feature of this rich mineral discovery is that so many young Canadians have by discovery or purchase become owners of these valuable deposits. Since Professor Miller's first informal report was made in November, 1903, prospectors have been fully alive to the value of their finds, and have therefore in a great many cases preferred to work their own claims. The ready sale of the rich ore soon brings in capital to go on with. A carload (say 20 tons) may bring ten or twenty thousand dollars.* It is a poor man's mining district, and in that respect resembles placer deposits of gold. But it differs from these in producing, in addition to the silver, minerals which are the foundation of numerous and important industries. An ordinary gold mining camp is always a mining camp, and nothing more ; but where nickel, cobalt, bismuth and arsenic are mined, metallurgical, chemical, and a great variety of other manufactures may be gathered around. Smelting is the first step toward this, and possibly the only one which should be taken until the permanence of the mines is assured. The separation of the constituents of these ores into their final products is a very complex and difficult problem, but a first separation into silver and a nickel-cobalt speiss might be devised simple enough to warrant the erection of a plant in Cobalt or some other convenient place. This would enable mine owners to get reasonable returns for all the main constituents of the ores. The rates at which sales are now made have given rise to some dissatisfaction. But buyers claim that the demand for cobalt is so limited, only about 150 tons of the oxide being used every year, that they are unable to dispose of the large amounts now being produced in Ontario without knocking the bottom out of the market. At the very worst, however, the price of cobalt will not go below that of nickel, as it can be used for most of the purposes for which nickel is used. As an ornamental metal cobalt is the more beautiful, and has been tried with good

*Some rich carloads were sold for as high as \$35,000.



SOME RESULTS, \$50,000 WORTH.

(From Photo by E. C. Hargrave, Esq.)



A FIND.

(From Photo by E. C. Hargrave, Esq.)

results in Germany. It resembles nickel in its hardening effect on steel. There will always be a market for our cobalt, nickel and arsenic. Several companies have been formed to smelt and refine these ores, and it is stated that the works now being erected by the Canadian Copper Co. at Copper Cliff to treat the gold-bearing arsenic ores of the Temagami district may also be prepared to handle the cobalt ores. The presence of those ores in Ontario has stimulated research, and a process will doubtless soon appear for the solution of this in some respects new problem in metallurgy. It will be to our advantage to have the separation and refining carried to a completion in Ontario. The mining of these ores cannot be compared with ordinary mining. The great concentration of values reduces the cost so that, in the case of veins of any considerable width, it is very small in proportion to the value of the ore raised. If the ore is simply sold out of the country, the industries of the country are little benefitted. Labour has not very much to show in return for this valuable raw material. The case is still worse when the ownership is outside of Canada. In that case the return to the country in wages is small, and the silver goes to enrich aliens. It is true that the aliens may have paid a large price for the property, but it is also true that they may have acquired it for very little. But while we may rather regret to see the citizens of another land carrying off our treasure, we must remember that there is a generous communism in such matters. Many of the forty-niners who filled their pockets from the California placers were Canadians.

W. L. GOODWIN.

BOOK REVIEWS.

NATURE AND MAN: The Romanes Lecture. By Edwin Ray Lankester, M.A., Hon. D.Sc. F.R.S., Hon. Fellow of Exeter College, Director of the Natural History Departments of the British Museum, late Linacre Professor in the University of Oxford. Delivered at Oxford June 14, 1906.

THE author defines "Nature" as "the entire mechanism of the universe, the kosmos in all its parts, and 'Man' as a part of Nature, a product of the definite and orderly evolution which is universal; a being resulting from and driven by the one great nexus of mechanism which we call Nature."

The general process by which the higher forms of life, including Man himself, have been produced has been shown by Darwin to depend upon two important properties of living matter; first, that property of adding to itself by taking up chemical elements or compounds as food, and transforming these into living matter; and, secondly, that of separating from itself minute particles, or germs, which grow independently and in turn reproduce themselves. The detached or pullulated germ inherits from its parent certain peculiarities of form and structure. This is Heredity. The germ as ordinarily produced is never identical, in all respects, with the parent. It shows Variation. In virtue of heredity these congenital variations are transmitted to new generations. Man, by selecting variations of animals and plants, has intensified such variations and produced animals and plants differing essentially from those with which he started.

It was Darwin's merit to show that a process of selection—"natural selection"—must take place in the free, untouched conditions under which animals and plants exist on the globe. Both animals and plants produce germs or young and in vast excess. The property of variation ensures that amongst this excess of young there are many differences. Eventually those survive which are best suited to the conditions under which this particular organism has to live. This is "the survival of the fittest."

The struggle for existence of Darwin is the struggle amongst all the superabundant young of a given species, in a

given area, "to gain sufficient food, to escape voracious enemies, and to gain protection from excesses of heat, cold, moisture or dryness," and is not, as is often stated, a struggle between different species. The struggle between different species receives but a passing notice from the author, but here again there is ample evidence of a real and desperate struggle, however peaceful the battle-field may appear to us. A familiar illustration of this may be observed in almost any field of growing grain in May or June. A large crop of weeds means a poor yield of grain. It is a struggle for existence, and death is the penalty of failure.

Again, the struggle among the number of species in natural conditions differs entirely from the mere struggle for social advancement or wealth. In Nature's struggle for existence death is the fate of the vanquished, whilst the only reward to the victors is the permission to re-produce their kind. It follows that the fiercest struggle will be between the immature population of one and the same species, precisely because they are of the same species, and have exactly the same needs.

Just how or when Man emerged from the terrestrial animal population, so strictly controlled by natural selection, is a matter upon which we are gradually gaining more information. Judging from the analogy (which he admits is not wholly trustworthy) furnished by the history of other large animals, now living side by side with man—such as the horse, wolf and hyæna—it is not improbable that it was in the lower Miocene period that natural selection began to favor that increase in size of brain of a large but not very powerful semi-erect ape, which eventuated after some hundreds of thousands of years in the breeding out of "a being with a large brain-case, a skilful hand and an inveterate tendency to throw stones, flourish sticks, protect himself in caves, and in general to defeat aggression" and satisfy his natural appetites by the use of his wits rather than by strength alone, though in this latter he was not deficient.

Increased brain substance implies increased "educability"—an increased power of storing up individual experience. It follows that the possessor of the enlarged brain had, in conditions of close competition, an immense advantage, and that

in successive generations the larger and more educable brains would survive and mate and thus larger brains would be produced.

The bulk of Man's brain has not increased since early Paleolithic times, but its powers and qualities have been, and are, steadily developing. As evidence of this the author might have referred to the *sulci paramediales*—a series of short, irregular furrows on the external surface of the frontal lobe of the brain, close to the supero-mesial border of the hemisphere. These rudimentary sulci are never found in the ape, and are better marked in the higher types of the human brain.

The mental qualities which have developed in Man so far transcend the rudimentary conditions traceable in some of his animal associates as to justify the view that Man forms a new departure in the gradual unfolding of Nature's predestined scheme. This mental development has been such as to cut him off entirely from the general operation of the process of natural selection.

Man is Nature's rebel. He has proceeded so far in his interference with extra-human Nature, has produced, not only for himself, but also for the living organisms associated with him, such a special state of things by his defiance of Nature's pre-human dispositions, that he cannot turn back, he must either go on and acquire firmer control of the conditions or "perish miserably by the vengeance certain to fall on the half-hearted meddler in great affairs." While we are disposed to agree with the author that Man cannot return to Nature, yet it must be admitted that in working out his destiny he finds himself by times in a blind alley and is forced to retrace his steps. In medicine we have ample evidence of this. In our modern methods of treatment of many diseases of the human system, notably tuberculosis, we have returned, to some extent at least, to the simple life of our American aborigines. We recognize that our double-doored, double-windowed houses, give us a measure of comfort, but at a terrible cost. We have retraced our steps, branched out anew, and the way seems clear.

In extra-human Nature there is no disease and there is no conjunction of incompatible forms of life, such as Man has brought about on the surface of the globe. The process of

selection of the fittest necessarily eliminates those diseased or liable to disease. Disease, both of parasitic and congenital origin, occurs as a minor phenomenon in the extra-human system of Nature. It seems a legitimate view that every disease to which animals, and probably plants too, are liable, except as a transient and rare occurrence, is due to Man's interference.

The diseases of cattle, sheep and horses are not known except in domesticated herds and those wild creatures contaminated by Man's domesticated productions. A solitary case of a ravaging epidemic constantly recurring in animals living in extra-human conditions is the phosphorescent disease of the sand-shrimps of the northern coast of France. Recent investigations seem to indicate that this disease may be due to sewage, and may yet fall into the category of those resulting from Man's interference. It is probable that, from time to time, under influences of certain changes of climate or other causes, parasitic disease has for a time ravaged this or that species newly exposed to it, but the final result is either extinction or adjustment—death or toleration. The disease does not establish itself as an ever-present enemy. It either obliterates its victim or settles down with it into relations of reciprocal toleration.

Man, however, "treats" disease and staves off the "adjustment by death," and thus accumulates vast populations of unadjusted human beings, animals and plants, which from time to time are ravaged by disease—producing uncertainty and dismay in human society.

The knowledge of the causes of disease has become so far advanced in recent years that it is a matter of practical certainty that by the unstinted application of the known methods of investigation, and consequent controlling action, all epidemic disease could be abolished within a period of fifty years. It is merely a question of the right employment of the means at our command. Where there is one naturalist at work there should be a thousand. It should be as much the purpose of the State to protect its citizens in this respect as to provide defence against human aggression. The parasite and much of its life-history has been discovered in the case of splenic fever, leprosy, tuberculosis, diphtheria, typhoid fever, glanders, cholera,

plague, tetanus, gangrene, sepsis (of wounds), puerperal fever, malaria, sleeping sickness, pneumonia, and perhaps some other diseases, fatal to man. A knowledge of the parasite has led in some instances to its control. Antiseptic surgery, by defeating the pyogenic organisms, has saved thousands upon thousands of lives and removed an incalculable amount of suffering. The development within recent years of serums containing antitoxines appropriate to each disease has saved many lives and is full of promise.

The control is slowly being obtained, but why should we be content to wait long years, perhaps centuries, when it is within our reach? If more men were employed by the State to study and experiment on this matter, the knell of infectious diseases would soon be sounded.

Man, however, in removing disease, creates a new difficulty for himself. That difficulty is the increase of human population beyond the capacity of the earth's surface to provide food and other necessities of life. By rebelling against Nature, Man has made himself the only animal that constantly increases in numbers. When disease is controlled this increase will be more rapid. No attempt has been made by the more advanced communities of civilized man to prevent the multiplication of the weakly or of those liable to congenital disease. It is true inquiries have been conducted by public authorities, and here and there something like a panic has appeared as a result of this investigation, but the only possible method of dealing with this matter has not been systematically applied. Man can only deal with this matter by thoroughly investigating the laws of breeding and heredity, and proceeding to apply a control to human multiplication based upon certain and indisputable knowledge.

The author concludes his paper with a re-assertion of his position—"the knowledge and control of Nature is Man's destiny and his greatest need."

JAS. THIRD.

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By George D. Ferguson, Professor of History, Queen's University. *British Whig Publishing Co., Kingston.*

Professor Ferguson's imposing volume on the Middle Ages will be received with special cordiality at Queen's,

where the substance of the book has already been communicated to College classes in the form of lectures. To quote from the opening words of the preface, the author says: "In giving these lectures to the press I am yielding to repeated requests made by my students." Such words imply a great deal, because, unhappily, there are many of us in the teaching profession who have never been honoured by an application of this kind. As a rule the utterances addressed to undergraduates from a university chair get off lightly enough when it is said of them that they are ephemeral in character, or where they have been set down in writing they do well if they escape the delicious satire which runs through Godley's '*Ad lectionem suam*.' It will be seen at the first glance that Professor Ferguson has taken his duty as a university instructor with high seriousness, and where so much effort has been lavished upon a self-appointed task the appreciation of one's class must be most grateful.

In point of form this work recalls the days of Guizot and Stephen, when a professor of history placed before the public with little change the material which he had delivered orally while discharging his function as a teacher. The advantage of the quasi-rhetorical style is that it enables one to disclose something of his personality and encourages him to deliver his mature judgments on large subjects. At the present time, it may be contended with much force, the historian effaces himself over much in the hope of becoming rigidly scientific. No one, of course, wishes to bring back the loose tales of the ages before Ranke, but history will lose all its broader and much of its higher influence if those who are most competent to have opinions about the crucial issues of the past are prevented from expressing them by a nervous dread of being unscientific. From time to time there still appear, thanks mainly to Oxford professors, volumes of lectures wherein may be found the genuine convictions of a mature student regarding the leading phases of human progress. Thus, for example, the historical world has of late been surprised and delighted by the posthumous publication of Stubbs' lectures on the Reformation, a work which is almost better than the '*Constitutional History*' itself. And, for the reasons just indicated, we cannot but think that

Professor Ferguson has followed a sound precedent in retaining the lecture style of presentation instead of translating his original statements into colourless formulas.

It is now rather more than fifty years since Maitland made his famous jest regarding the Dark Ages, of which the point was that the period in question seemed dark to most people from the blackness of their own ignorance about it. Since then many of the misapprehensions made current by Robertson in the introduction to his 'Charles V' have been cleared away, and at present we willingly admit the fact that there was, at least from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, such a thing as mediæval civilization. This is really the broad proposition from which Professor Ferguson advances, and no one need open his book with the feeling that it may be marked by an attitude of detraction towards medieval culture. Not only does he devote special chapters to the philosophy of the schoolmen and to mediæval education at large, but he can quote with approval the words which Peter the Venerable used in defending the study of the pagan classics. To upbraid the Middle Ages for their intellectual narrowness is still a common practice in quarters where they are unpopular from having been the Ages of Faith. But Professor Ferguson takes it as his object neither to defend nor to denounce, but to explain.

In this last phrase we have indicated the motive and the method of the whole volume. With perfect truth Professor Ferguson might have stated in his preface what M. Charles Seignobos has stated in the preface to his work on the political history of modern Europe, namely, that his purpose was not to produce a piece of epic narrative, but to explain the nature and relation of leading movements. "My purpose," the preface concludes, "has been to trace the simple development of the several departments of the political life of the Middle Ages—not only of the Church, but also of the legal, the constitutional and legislative administration, as well as the intellectual and economic life." With a range so wide as this it obviously becomes necessary to single out salient topics for discussion, leaving the reader to master the main phases of the narrative for himself. As a consequence Professor Ferguson's book does not come into comparison or collision

with the ordinary *Grundris*, but belongs rather to the literature of disquisition.

This is an age of bibliography and footnotes. In the present volume the title of each chapter or lecture is followed by a list of books consulted, while at frequent intervals will be found references to or citations from original materials. Professor Ferguson evidently desires that his undergraduates should go not merely to the modern authorities, whose works are mentioned in the several bibliographies, but to the monumental collections of Pertz and Muratori. The monographs which he cites as having furnished him with many of his data cover the leading languages of modern Europe and are associated with names like those of Dahn, Waitz and Brunner ; Furtel, Lavissee and Luchaire ; Morbio, Troja and Vignati. The literature of mediaeval history has grown to overwhelming proportions, but Professor Ferguson's bibliographies show what a wide swath he has cut through his crowded field. And in addition to books, the fruits of foreign travel seem to have been drawn upon, as in the passage which alludes to the beautiful open work of the spire of Freiburg cathedral.

We refrain from quoting particular passages, because many readers of the *QUARTERLY* will have procured the book already, and in any case it is to be seen at the College library. Nor is it possible for us to analyze in detail a work which contains more than six hundred pages. But now that Professor Ferguson has completed an undertaking which has cost him so much thought and research, he must permit a colleague in another Canadian university to congratulate him on the genuine enthusiasm that is attested by his exhaustive investigations, and on the steadfastness that has enabled him to bring them to this conclusion. *Finis opus coronat.*

CHARLES COLBY.

HOW TO TEACH THE NATURE STUDY COURSE, by John Dearness, M.A., Vice-Principal of the London Normal School. Toronto : Copp, Clark & Co.

This is a very welcome addition to the list of teachers' handbooks, and one that cannot fail to be of special interest to all teachers of Nature Study in Ontario. Sold at a very moderate price, the book is easily within the reach of every public school teacher. It is a plain, neat and well printed book, of conveni-

ent size, contains a number of good illustrations, and taken altogether gives one the impression that it was made to be used.

In writing this book the author has adopted a rather unique plan. It is based upon the Nature Study Course recently prescribed by the Ontario Education Department for use in public schools, and is in reality a very clever elaboration of it, with many valuable suggestions as to methods of presentation, correlation, etc. Following the Nature Study Course for Ontario year by year, and quoting also the Course in Nature Study prescribed for schools in the Province of Manitoba, for purposes of comparison, the writer deals with the main topics in each. The topics treated are so numerous and so varied that the space allotted to each is necessarily very limited. To the busy teacher this will not be considered a weakness, and to the teacher who is in search of practical suggestions in the teaching of Nature Study, this book must prove helpful. Teachers of experience in Nature Study work will gain from it new ideas in methods of presentation of Nature lessons, and teachers without experience will be enabled by its help to make an intelligent beginning.

The author, who has been engaged for years in the training of teachers, must of necessity know something of the needs of teachers. In a large province like Ontario, where such an extensive course in Nature Study has so recently been added to the public school curriculum, the number of teachers in real need of assistance along these lines must be very large. A book that tells "how to teach the Nature Study Course" will surely be given an enthusiastic reception by all such teachers. But let them beware lest they read *too* much into the title of the book, lest they think themselves in possession of that which can solve all difficulties likely to be encountered in the teaching of Nature Study. The *real* title of the book is inside the cover—"The Nature Study Course, with Suggestions for Teaching It." "How to teach" and "suggestions for teaching" are quite different ideas, and, when applied to the teaching of Nature Study at least, the latter is much to be preferred. Teachers who make the mistake of trying to follow "ready-made" lessons from books or from printed instructions, where-

soever obtained, will not find this book to their liking. The author has taken good care that the teacher who follows the methods which he suggests in teaching Nature Study shall have plenty of original investigation, for himself as well as for his pupils, and it might be added that the teacher who fails in such independent investigation can never hope to teach Nature Study successfully.

The book will quite fail of its purpose unless all teachers who use it give goodly heed to the author's emphatic declaration, that "the best part of the teacher's preparation to conduct any particular Nature Study is his own first hand investigation of the object or phenomenon and not the browsing he may do in a library." The rather startling pictorial illustration of this, however, which constitutes the frontispiece, can scarcely be considered a happy one. It is a most admirable photograph, but as an illustration it is poorly calculated to attract young ladies to first hand studies in Nature. Throughout the book emphasis is laid upon the study of the child and its environment, and wisely so. In fact the author treats the whole subject of Nature Study from the standpoint of the child, and herein lies the book's greatest value to the teacher. The key-note is sounded by the author when he states that "the vitally important part of the lesson is the series of activities put forth by the child," and in referring to the preparation of the teacher he affirms that "knowledge of the child, how to direct and control its energies, is more valuable than knowledge of the sciences," and that "the teacher who knows the child will not go far astray in the selection and treatment of the material of his Nature Study lessons." That is, knowledge of the child and sympathy towards all child interests will go far in determining *what* to choose as subject matter for Nature Study, and also the most natural and therefore the *best* method of presenting it. "Make the dominant aim," says he, "to be training in the investigation of those things in which the child feels an interest." It must here be taken for granted that the teacher, if not already interested in those things in which the child "feels an interest," will become so by diligent and personal first-hand investigation of the object or phenomenon in question (yes, including even the snakes!). There is a best time for teaching

a Nature Study lesson and the wise teacher will be ready to take advantage of the opportunity. It is the time when the child's interest is aroused, by whatsoever cause, and is keenest for action. In one brief sentence much of the value of Nature Study and "how to teach it" is summed up by the author when, speaking of the successful teacher and his pupils, he says, "he engages their interest at the favourable moment to train them to observe, think, investigate and enjoy."

J. W. GIBSON.

INTRODUCTORY PHYSIOLOGY AND HYGIENE. By A. P. Knight, M.A., M.D., Professor of Physiology, Queen's University, Kingston. 8vo., 198 pages. The Copp, Clark & Co., Limited, Toronto.

This little brochure from the pen of Dr. A. P. Knight has been favourably received and commented on in many of the daily journals. If we must have children taught Physiology and Hygiene in our preparatory schools, it is well that the text books should be written by men of the capability and sanity of Professor Knight, who has, in addition to these desirable qualifications, the practical experience gained by the common sense teacher. It requires a good deal of ingenuity to model a preparatory text book that shall not hopelessly befuddle juvenile minds perfectly innocent of the intricacies which make the average medical student feel that Physiology is one of the most complex subjects he has to deal with. The author, quite unlike many of his predecessors, has kept this point constantly in view, and if he teaches less ornamental physiology than has been customary, he has substituted a wealth of information that juveniles (and many of their teachers) might acquire without injury to themselves. Perhaps it might not be going too far to say that teachers will profit even more than children by a careful study of the brochure; and will be able to impress on the minds of their pupils the importance of the facts brought out by the author.

If any portion of former text-books on Philosophy and Hygiene has been open to particular condemnation, it is the "Temperance Department," which has generally been fashioned on the good old methods so frequently adopted by extremists, who believed that intemperance was to be knocked on the head by a free use of the bludgeon. They were not par-

ticular either about telling the whole truth, and many of their so-called facts were at least open to a good deal of question. One might make excuse for some bitterness when he realizes the harm done to the human race by the improper use of alcohol, but it is questionable if the best method to get rid of the evils of intemperance is to teach children things which make them prigs until they learn the truth, when the swing of the pendulum may go too far in the other direction. The truth seems to be in order at all times, and certainly intelligent teaching regarding the use and abuse of alcohol, such as Dr. Knight offers, is apt to develop more common sense views than that just referred to. Dr. Knight very properly points out that the indirect results of alcoholism are those most to be dreaded, and this is just the point that should be emphasized. The author is fully impressed with the truth of the old adage that "cleanliness is next to godliness," and if the pupil is as fortunate in his Sunday-school text books as he is with his everyday copy of *Physiology and Hygiene* he should grow up an ideal being. It is certain the average boy will hail with delight the statements on page 41, to the effect that five meals a day are not out of order to one convalescing from an illness, and that there is little danger from over-eating at any time if plain food only is taken. This accords with boyish theory and should bring the doctor well deserved popularity.

As suggested at the beginning of this review, if we must have *Physiology and Hygiene* taught in the preparatory schools, and it is apparently settled beyond doubt that the wisdom of the present day thinks it imperative that such should be the case, by all means let the task of preparing the texts books be left in the hands of as safe and careful authors as Professor Knight.

The little work is well printed on good paper and the type of a variety consistent with the warnings regarding eye strain, so intelligently discussed by Dr. Knight in the early chapters.

The illustrations, largely made from photographs by Mr. Cyril W. Knight, are capital.

C. K. CLARKE.

FACTS AND COMMENTS.

LOMBROSO ON THE MILLIONAIRE.

SOMETIME ago the celebrated Italian "criminologist," Professor Lombroso, made a scientific study of the modern millionaire, and was bold enough to publish it, Italian universities being supported by the state and owing little or nothing to millionaires. I first saw an account of his production in an editorial of the *Montreal Star*, which generally keeps an eye, and a very discerning one too, on the intellectual movement of the times in Europe and the United States. I cannot tell what the Professor's methods of examining his subject were. Presumably he made some study of millionaire types in the United States, and perhaps had read with attention the various utterances of Mr. Carnegie. In any case I hardly think his conclusions would be seriously disturbed by a closer acquaintance with the Sunday-school addresses of Mr. Rockefeller or the habits of 'Charlie' Schwab and James Hazen Hyde.

The millionaire is in many ways a controlling factor in the civilisation of our time, and the interest of the Professor's study lies partly in the fact that it brings out the striking contrast between him and all the other types that have been dominant factors in the civilisation of the past, the prophet and saint, the great warrior and the great ecclesiastic, the statesman, the poet and the philosopher. According to Professor Lombroso, the millionaire is the average man raised, so to speak, to his highest power, with the normal instincts and interests, with the normal sanity and the intellectual or spiritual limitations of the ordinary man. The millionaire type, the Professor declares, is of average intellect and constitution, exhibits none of the characteristics of genius, and is wanting in general culture. His mental endowments are "quick perception to the value of a deal and decision in undertaking it," he is avaricious and only "comparatively honest," and builds up his fortunes by taking advantage of the weakness or misfortunes of others, facts which, according to Professor Lombroso, prove that "in all things,

even in evil, millionaires do not deviate from the average man." He has a big brain, the Professor says, and "perfect mental equilibrium," but these excellent gifts do not mean, in the terminology of this new science, quite what is meant by high intellect, but rather large storage capacity and the useful faculty of rating everything, not as the genius, the saint, or the poet or philosopher might rate it, but according to the import it has for the ordinary man. The millionaire's psychic world, in short, is not a special or highly individualized world like that of the genius ; it is the psychic world of the ordinary man.

I am not going to question the correctness of Professor Lombroso's analysis, or otherwise. It is evidently founded on the assumption that the millionaire is primarily a business man, and indeed altogether a business man. I think myself that he, like every other type, will ultimately rise to the height of the position which he occupies in our modern civilisation. "Our minds," says Shakespeare, "are a parcel of our fortunes." But just at the present time it may be worth while to consider from Professor Lombroso's point of view the influence which the millionaire as a type is likely to have on our civilisation. That civilisation in its higher elements has been mainly the creation of high-minded aristocrats, saintly idealists, scholars, poets and philosophers ; their ideals have been roughly translated, we might say, into practical institutions for our ordinary life. It has not certainly been at any time a perfect organism, doing full justice to all the sides of life ; it has been particularly imperfect on the social democratic side, but still it has managed to embody very effectively in its institutions and traditions noble elements of faith and belief which have everything to do with the stability and value of civilisation. What effect will the emergence of the millionaire and the psychic world he brings with him have on that heritage of the past ? What influence, for example, will he have on our educational system, particularly on this continent, where his influence is most felt. He will improve it in some respects, of course ; a man of his energy and self-reliance may easily do that. He will rectify some errors he especially dislikes. He will help to develop that side of education which he most appreciates. But will he learn to hold the balance wisely and give their due place to

those things which the average man does not discern the importance of, either in his own life or in the history of civilisation? There is, perhaps, no reason why he should not, if he is willing to make use of what is sound in tradition as well as of what he has found sure in his own experience. After all, his own experience is necessarily limited to some forty years or so of reflective life, not to speak of its being influenced by the parallax of his own time, just as King David's and Plato's were by theirs. The danger is that the millionaire's training is generally altogether a business training, and a business training is very apt to lead a man to believe that whatever is newest is best. But there are matters in which that rule is neither so safe nor so simple in its application, and education is one of them.

A JAPANESE IDEAL OF EDUCATION.

One of our modern democratic aphorisms is that "it is the education of the many, not of the few, that counts." Wisely understood it may be no fallacy, but it is often enough used in a fallacious way to imply that the limited practical education we can give to the many is of more importance for the national life than the higher education we can give to the smaller number who attend the higher institutions of learning. Used in this way it is a fallacy, for these "few" will necessarily be the future intellectual leaders of the nation, and the tendencies they will impress upon the mass of the people through the press, the stage, the pulpit, the platform, through literature and professional labour generally, will constitute the most important part of the national education in the largest sense of the word. The nation which has no Knoxes and Scotts and Wordsworths, no Arnolds and Emersons and Longfellows to give it vision and establish high traditions for it, is in a bad way, even though it were exporting two hundred millions bushels of wheat yearly and every public school pupil knew how to grow apples and plant potatoes. Personalities like Professor E. Ray Lankester or Mr. Edison, however eminent, do not quite fill the place of these others. And whether a nation can produce Scotts and Wordsworths depends a good deal on the character of the higher education it receives and the credit in which such education is held.

There is no necessary conflict between the two lines of education, only there is the danger of thinking that one can be made to do the work of the other. Perhaps in this respect the ancient East may still have a lesson to give us through its modern representative, Japan. In these days one notices every now and then a voice of warning raised by some Japanese thinker who is afraid that the influence of Western industrialism may impair the finer qualities of his nation. A Japanese professor, O'Kakura-Kakuzo, in a recent article on this subject declared it would be a disaster for his country if the "high philosophic and artistic ideals of the East" were overrun by the "crude and brutal commercialism of the West." Let the East, he advised, use all that is useful in that industrial economic movement, but remember that it is but means, giving merely the material basis of life. "The venerable East," he says with fine sarcasm pointed at our Western weakness, "still distinguishes between means and ends. The West is for progress, but progress towards what? When material efficiency is complete, what end, asks Asia, will have been accomplished? In spite of the vaunted freedom of the West, true individuality is destroyed in the competition for wealth, and happiness and contentment are sacrificed to an incessant craving for more. The West takes pride in its emancipation from idolatrous and mediæval superstition, but what of the idolatrous worship of wealth that has taken its place? What sufferings and discontent lie hidden behind the gorgeous mask of the present? The voice of Socialism is a wail over the agonies of Western economics—the tragedy of Capital and Labour."

So writes our Japanese philosopher, who does not seem, however, to appreciate properly the great problem of a democratic socialisation which is working up through all that brutal industrialism of the West. The East has always been weak on that side. Still its immemorial question, What shall it profit a man? is a fundamental one in education. *Ex Oriente lux.*

ANOTHER LEADING GENTLEMAN WHO NEEDS HIGHER EDUCATION.

Mr. Charles Frohmann, manager of the great Theatrical Trust, which controls many theatres and exacts a heavy toll,

sometimes half the profits I believe, on the plays it allows to be staged, was interviewed lately by the London *World* as a "celebrity," and is reported as talking as follows :—"He admitted that he did not understand much about the educational drama, and added 'I rather think the public don't understand much about it either.' He is convinced that the vast majority of people, on both sides of the Atlantic, persist in regarding the theatre as a place of amusement, and are content to be entertained when they get there."

Of course they are, Mr. Frohmann, but there is still the question as to *how* they shall be entertained, and whether it is possible to educate them into finding as much entertainment in the drama of Shakespeare, of Ibsen, of Hauptmann, of Sudermann, or in the Fantasy-Drama of Barrie, as in the "Show Girl," or the trivialities of "The College Widow," or decadent society plays like "Lady Windemere's Fan," with their magnanimous cocottes. But the omnipotent Jew who controls that 'great educational institution,' the drama, "don't" understand that side of the matter.

A PAGE FROM A LABOUR ORGAN.

There is a literature growing up in the shade which is likely to exercise a considerable influence on the ethics and politics of the future. I mean the journalism of the Labour Unions. I was reading a Union monthly the other day, which contained the following vigorous harangue from a machinist in a locomotive shop to his brother workmen : "Machinists," he writes, "wake up ; realize your importance in this world. Realize that the world would stop instantly without you Get it through your intelligent (the writer puts an angry note of interrogation after the word) craniums that without your genius and skill the world would stand still. Have a little gumption about you and show the world that you are the motive power." Then he points out that machinists receive less than bricklayers, only \$2.50 for a ten hours day, as against the latter's \$5 for an eight hours day in some places," the reason being, as he thinks, that the latter are "thoroughly organized."

Another correspondent boasts of the perfection of the

organization in his district. "In a strike, he says, "head-quarters are established and the factory picketed in a thorough business-like manner. He notices, also, other influences which work on behalf of the union. "No scab need come here," he writes, "the union ladies would run him out of town. . . . I have never seen a scab machinist stay anywhere near a union lady. They just will not have them around." Another correspondent writes: "We went out on strike for the removal of a foreman, Mr. Bolts, he having made remarks to the effect that he would like to import a few niggers to show us how to work. . . . Don't come here for a job, we have a new schedule pending ; stay away." Another gives the following details of his district : "Jobs open for card men (that is, men with their union card-book up to date) ; no other need apply. Wages \$2.90 per day ; walk one mile and half to shop. Board \$16 to \$20 per month, and hard to get at any decent place."

That is the voice of the working man ; here is the voice of the employer, represented by an extract from *The Bulletin*, an employer's organ in connection with the National Metal Trades Association : "Stamp the unions out as you would an adder."

That is what you have got to educate into a higher citizenship and individuality, and you cannot do it by concentrating all the forces of education, higher and lower, on the problem of material production.

TWO MODERN STYLES.

1. The Vulgar Flamboyant. (American variety).

The following is an extract from the Book Reviews in a recent number of the *Literary Digest* :

The "Divine Fire" is a novel which towers above the crowded ranks of contemporary fiction as Diana above her nymphs. It commands the attention which a work of fiction ever will when it contains the spirited analysis of a singular and beautiful human nature, something more apart in compelling graciousness than the lovely perfection of a Greek temple. The title alludes to Poetry, that creative gift which is born, not acquired. Miss S———[the author] assists at its evolution with the *flair* of a Greek tragedian for such subtle exigencies, and a conscientious nicety in regard to proportions and ethical values. There is tragedy galore in this massive book of six hundred pages, but it is moral, not physical ; tho' Savage Keith Rickmann had his poignant share of oor-

poral afflictions. The Divine Fire (of poetry) is a consuming flame with him and in its leaping aspiration to the empyrean shakes the carnal vessel in which it is incandescent most lamentably.

The hero of the novel, who is described in the above analysis as "a singular and beautiful human nature," and compared to the "lovely perfection of a Greek temple," is summed up by one of the characters in the book as "the soul of a young Sophocles, battling with that of a Junior Journalist, in the body of a dissipated little cockney." Evidently more Decadent than Apolline in his lovely perfection.

2. The Aesthetic Decadent. (English variety).

The following is an extract from Mr. Gosse's *Seventeenth Century Studies*, and refers to the poet Herrick :

It is delightful to think of Herrick, blissfully unconscious of the tumult of tongues (Holy Living and Holy Dying, Sermons of Calamy) and all the windy war, more occupied by morris-dances and barley-breaks than with prayer or psalter.

Perfect refinement of expression there, you see, but also something affected in the sentiment, the pose of the æsthetic Decadent, which is not, however, a habitual one with Mr. Gosse.

THE AMERICAN "FRONT."

There is a deliberate kind of stoicism in the typical American. He always keeps a good front towards things. He has a jaunty air and a smile on his face when brought before the judge for judgment, even when the case is grave and he is guilty, and he goes with a joke to the operator's table—I mean, of course, as a subject. He is always well when you ask after his health, "never was better in his life"; and the week after you hear he has had a paralytic stroke or been ordered South for nervous prostration. The old type of Scotch peasant would hardly ever admit he was well, that is, as well as he ought to be; at best he was "juist by ordinar'," or "no that bad". But the American will hardly ever admit that he is ill, for that, in these fiercely competitive times, would be to depreciate his stock in the market, both literally and figuratively, perhaps. So the dry goods clerk at 40 years old begins to dye his hair or his employer might think he is getting old. In the States

you are old at 40, or you are never old at all, like Chauncey Depew and the political celebrities.

JOURNALISM : AN EXPLANATION.

Some of our leading dailies in reviewing a little book of mine on Canadian poetry, published the other day, evidently took umbrage at a sentence in which I referred to journalism as a "haven of refuge for distressed literary craft." I certainly did not mean any affront to the profession, I am not so fool-hardy as that ; on the contrary, I think it is something to its credit that it has probably saved some fine intellectual types from starving like Chatterton or Thompson in a garret after an unavailing attempt to live by the higher flights of the muse, just as perhaps the modern demand for artistic illustrations in magazines may save future Millais and Haydons from a terrible and depressing struggle with poverty.

But, perhaps, my critics and I are looking at different things, at sides of the profession which are as yet more or less distinct. I did not mean that journalism is only, or mainly, a haven of refuge. I meant, first, that it is an open profession, a profession which admits, in addition to its regularly trained staff of reporters, editors and sub-editors, a certain number of "irregulars," so to speak, who may contribute in various ways, particularly on the literary side, to its work. Secondly, I used the term "journalism" in the widest sense as including all forms of periodical literature, the literary weekly, for example, and even the critical review, a kind of work which may still be called journalism (though it goes beyond the radical meaning of the word), and which is a very natural and kindly refuge for the aspirant who finds it impossible to live as a Tennyson, a Carlyle, or a Stevenson managed to do, by pure literature. Many writers, men like Andrew Lang, Henley, Chesterton, Neil Munro, and others more obscure, whom I have known, belong to this class, some of them being almost strictly professional in the character of their work, others less so. From the very comprehensive point of view from which I was writing, many of these men may be spoken of as taking shelter in the profession of journalism, while their ambitions remain of a more purely literary kind. I am trying to state a fact, not ex-

ressing an opinion on it. But it is a well known phenomenon in modern literature its influence there being usually treated by philosophical historians of literature in Germany under the head of "Feuilletonismus." Perhaps, however, we have hardly enough of this class of journalists in Canada to be an appreciable element in the profession.

JAMES CAPPON.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THE TARIFF COMMISSION.

The conducting of a tariff inquiry in Canada with open doors is an interesting and valuable experience. If we are to judge from the character of the evidence already given, its records will present a very unique and instructive picture of the contending interests which have to be compromised in the making of a tariff. The situation strongly suggests Carlyle's vivid simile of the bowl of vipers, each one striving to get its head above the struggling mass.

In the evidence presented to the Commission so far, there is exhibited a remarkable frankness on the part of those giving their views, as to what they expect a revision of the tariff to accomplish for them. When the Commission comes east we shall probably have more euphemism. So far, however, there is practically no attempt on the part of any to regard their industry from the point of view of the general good of the country. What any other interests may ask or require, or what the general welfare of the public may involve, is frankly regarded as none of their business. They are interested in the production and sale of a certain article, and they ask the Government to lower the duty on whatever they may have to buy, while at the same time they demand such a protective duty on their finished products as will insure to them, as far as possible, a close preserve for their sale. If there is no prospect of getting the duty reduced on purchases, then the claim is always made that the productive duty on the finished articles shall fully compensate for the tariff rate on all that enters into their production, whether bought in Canada or imported, and provide in addition a substantial protection on the finished goods.

Now all this is very interesting, in the face of reiterated assertions on the part of manufacturers, individually and collectively, that an adequate protection for Canadian manufactures will very slightly, if at all increase the price of goods purchased in Canada. For, in the case of their own purchases, the manufacturers will never admit either that the foreigner pays the duty, or that competition at home prevents the price from being raised to the limit of the tariff. In other words, in estimating

their protection on finished goods, they always insist on deducting the full tariff rate on all constituent elements. By way of parenthesis it may be remarked, that economists are apt to be censured for their prolonged inability to develop a rational and harmonious system—what the Manufacturers' Association calls "a scientific tariff"—out of such facts.

In the presence of such a complex situation one can hardly withhold a certain degree of sympathy for the Government. For, even if we admit, from the point of view of party tactics, that it is safer to ignore the interests of the inorganic mass of consumers, rather than risk the opposition of the limited, but effectively organized body of manufacturers; yet the conflicting interests of the latter, in their anxiety for cheap purchases and dear sales, are quite sufficient to create a difficult diplomatic problem for the politicians. American politicians, who have had a longer experience in such matters, and who are therefore good practical guides, have found that the easiest way out is to begin with the lowest grade of manufactured goods and pile one duty on top of another until they reach the finished article, and then unload the accumulated impost upon the consumer, with the bland assurance that only the manufacturer pays duty on what he imports, but when it comes to the finished article it is the foreigner who pays the duty. The unpatriotic consumer may be somewhat skeptical on the subject, but, unless he is prepared to organize for political opposition and put up a campaign fund as large as that of the manufacturers, he will look helplessly on while his representatives in Congress establish and maintain a thoroughly scientific tariff. The only compensation for the ordinary citizen under such circumstances is to insist upon getting the highest possible price for his vote. That this justification is regularly pleaded, in one shape or other, in excuse for accepting election bribes, is well known even to Canadian politicians. One of the most far-sighted of British objections to a protective tariff is the lowering of public morality which the sacrifice of national to private interests inevitably involves.

But, while it is impossible to rationalize, except on grounds of the narrowest self-seeking, conflicting claims for the revision of a tariff which tends steadily upwards, it is not diffi-

cult to rationalize the highly efficient enterprise and business capacity exhibited by so many of our Canadian manufacturers in the normal conduct of their industries. Regarded as manufacturers, and not as politicians, they are undoubtedly entitled to the respect and admiration of their fellow-citizens. Since the painful weeding out process which followed the reckless competition and great sacrifice of capital brought about by the National Policy, the manufacturers of Canada as a body have got down to a thoroughly practical basis. During the last fifteen years they have more than kept pace with the growth and improvement of the country in other respects. They have learned the value of organization, as at once more economic and efficient than scattered and haphazard competition. Mere competition justifies itself in the eyes of many from the fact that, though it may not produce cheap goods, it does prevent the accumulation of profits. But the wiser process of eliminating over-production and wasteful competition is still going on, enabling Canadian industries not only to hold their own within the country, but to gradually lay a permanent foundation for a sound and profitable, and not merely a sacrificial foreign trade. As a natural consequence of their enterprise and efficiency, the manufacturers of Canada as a class have of late years increased in wealth more rapidly than any other considerable element in the country.

Why men so prosperous and so abundantly justified in their self-confident ability should, when tariff questions are being discussed, so unblushingly claim to be on the high road to ruin, and so ostentatiously parade their apprehension at the very mention of a foreign competitor, even when muzzled by a very substantial tariff backed by a highly efficient anti-dumping device, baffles all ordinary logic. The only reasonable explanation of these remarkable contrasts in moods and professions appears to be, that the Canadian manufacturers, in dealing with the tariff, instead of applying business methods to politics, apply political methods to business.

THE PASSING OF CHAMBERLAINISM.

On every hand, alike from critic and adherent, evidence accumulates of the rapid withering away of the Jonah's gourd

of Chamberlainism, the tropical luxuriance of whose growth was for a time the topic of the hour. Like similar movements in modern times, of which the latest and closest parallel is Bryanism in the United States, Chamberlainism was founded upon a pessimistic scare as to the impending ruin of British trade, domestic and foreign, together with the speedy and inevitable dissolution of the British Empire unless a radical change in policy was adopted. Over against this dismal picture of the future was set a correspondingly bright and millennial vision of what was equally inevitable should Mr. Chamberlain's designs for the amelioration of the Empire be accepted, and a mandate issued placing the establishment in his hands. His plans were so simple and yet so effective that people of even the most modest intellectual attainments could readily comprehend the immense benefits which it was intended they should enjoy.

When men of undoubted ability and striking personality like Mr. Bryan, or Mr. Chamberlain, exercise their capacity for concentration on a single all-comprehensive idea, which they can commend to the attention of the public with plausible dexterity and power, the movement in its uncritical stages is apt to prove irresistible. Broad and accurate treatment of a subject is necessarily slow, being cumbered with the complexity of the actual, and making large demands upon the time and patience of those who are asked to calmly investigate it. Had Mr. Bryan, or Mr. Chamberlain been able to secure their mandates before the people had time to be more or less instructed as to the facts and consequence of their proposals, how different the results might have been. Time, however, the great adjuster of values, saved the situation, and one more of Mr. Chamberlain's schemes is on its way to join its fellows in the land of exploded phenomena. Already devout mourners are practising their obituary eulogies, and contrive to relieve the prevailing gloom with vague discourse of a possible resurrection in the nebulous future. To this pious hope they have now transferred what faith remains from the wreck of great expectations.

In the presence of these last decorous rites of the faithful, it would ill become us to rejoice over the fallen. Paying heed

to the charitable admonition, *de mortuis nihil nisi bonum*, it may be said, without affectation, that Mr. Chamberlain's movement, like that of Mr. Bryan and several others of a similar nature, has been of very great indirect or negative advantage. It has served to rouse the present generation of Englishmen from their dogmatic slumber as to the rational basis of their trade policy. The discussion made necessary by the examination of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals has afforded the British public, in more or less satisfactory form, the solid practical reasons for an adherence, in principle at least, to free trade at home and freedom of action for the colonies. Incidentally, it has enabled the British public to recognize more clearly than ever, that the same trade policy is not necessarily expedient for all nations, although this was not unnaturally assumed to be the case by the first advocates of free trade, as also, with less excuse, by Mr. Chamberlain. In lesser measure as yet, but still to some extent, it has enabled the outlying parts of the Empire to understand why Britain should maintain a trade policy differing considerably from theirs. Above all, the clearing of the imperial atmosphere of a great deal of sectional self-seeking, much of it under various hypocritical masks, must make for a franker and more wholesome, and therefore more permanent understanding, which will meet every need as it arises in a practical and accommodating spirit. Primarily, the self-dependence and self-control of each of the Anglo-Saxon sections of the Empire must remain the essential basis of a frank, self-respecting friendship and mutual assistance.

LIFE INSURANCE.

The revelations which are taking place with reference to the management of some of the largest life insurance companies in the United States, are not merely of great present interest, but raise very important questions for the future. The present interest centres around the exposure of irregular practices by the management of certain insurance companies, more especially in connection with the investment of the funds, the inordinate expenses of management, and the disposal of considerable sums as contributions to political campaign funds. These revelations, which it is said are only well begun, have

naturally caused a widespread feeling of uncertainty with reference to the whole business of life insurance in the United States. It is inevitable that the feeling should extend to this country as well, and tempt sensational outbursts on the part of those who crave a more or less frenzied notoriety. The temptation is abundant. Probably not more than one in a hundred of those who contribute life insurance premiums have any clear idea as to what becomes of their contributions. Common usage is such a sedative that people who are induced to insure their lives as they are induced to purchase something on the instalment plan, scarcely stop to ask what safeguards, in law or in practice, are provided to insure the sound investment of their funds, or the safe and economic management of the corporations, whether stock or mutual or combined, which act as trustees for the insuring public.

The enormous growth of insurance of late years, and especially of endowment insurance, has had the effect of placing immense amounts of capital in the hands of insurance companies, which, whether they are mutual or stock companies, or associations, are virtually controlled by a small group of men. This has already suggested to several who have an eye for such matters, that, in justice to the corporations, as well as to the public, the business methods and results of the various institutions should be more closely supervised. The chief object of an efficient supervision would be to secure a reasonable publicity as to the income, investment, and outlay of the various institutions conducting life insurance. The business of life insurance, even to a greater extent than that of banking, is essentially a great public trust. If this is to be carried on by private corporations, including so-called mutual associations, instead of by the Government, or, possibly, along with the Government, it is necessary that the public should be able, through even the few who look into such details, to judge of the efficiency and security of the trust. And more particularly at a time such as the present, when wild rumours and damaging insinuations are certain to be current, to the unsettlement of the public mind and the encouragement of revolutionary projects, it would be advisable to have an independent investigation of the actual situation of insurance business in this country.

Such an investigation ought to be able to afford definite and authoritative information, in an intelligible form, for the benefit of the general public, and as a basis for the future improvement of the system and its regulation, in order to keep pace with the growing volume and international range of insurance business. It is true that much of this information is already available in one form or another, but it is not in such shape as to be readily interpreted by the general public. Moreover, there are several essential connecting links and minor details necessary to a clear understanding of some of the returns. There is also much miscellaneous information, not required in annual returns, but which is very essential to a proper understanding of the operations of insurance companies at any given time. The views of insurance experts and other financiers should also be obtained, as to any desirable improvements in the law as it now stands, with reference to such important matters, for instance, as the investments of insurance companies and their relations to other financial corporations, the nature and range of their international business, and the character of the returns which should be made to the Government.

It was by such investigations and reports from time to time, as the progress of the country and the exigencies of the situation required, that the system of Canadian banking was gradually brought to the enviable position which it now occupies. That there is need for an equally progressive development in the regulation and safeguarding of such a rapidly expanding public trust as life insurance there can be little question.

THE UNIVERSITY MAN IN BUSINESS LIFE,

From time to time, of late, business men have been induced to give public expression to their views as to the value of a university education for the business man. Quite recently, Mr. Fudger of Toronto made a very excellent contribution to the discussion of this increasingly important subject.

In the past, the slowness of the man of affairs to recognize the advantages of a university education, has not been altogether his own fault. The universities have been inclined to put forward too exclusive, if not too high a claim as to the value of their training. Men of the world find, however, that

these exaggerated pretensions are by no means sustained in practice. It was found that men of high ideals and broad culture, not to mention great executive ability, were developed without the advantages of a university course, though not necessarily independently of university influences. Men were found, on the other hand, quite lacking in breadth of view, tolerance of spirit, or refinement of feeling, who, nevertheless, had enjoyed the opportunities of a university course. In contact with such results the man of affairs may be tempted to meet the claims of the universities with a sweeping denial. There is need, therefore, in these days of somewhat over-strenuous practical life, of a varied and frank discussion of the essential relation of higher education to business and public life.

Notwithstanding the long association of universities with the traditionally learned professions, it is not the essential function of a university to prepare its students for any specific calling in life. The function of the technical school or college is quite another matter, though it, too, has its educational as well as its more practical aspect. Incidentally, the universities, in selecting the subjects for intellectual training, ought, as have the great teachers of all ages, to employ those which are concerned with the more interesting and important problems of life. Thus a true university training should be an efficient preparation, so far as it goes, for dealing with the larger interests of mankind, though not necessarily with the details of this or that specific business or calling. At the same time the university has no monopoly of wisdom or of insight as regards the great problems of life, practical or theoretical. It depends far more absolutely upon the world for its supplies than the world depends upon it for its products. The universities will undoubtedly lose nothing in public respect, while they may gain much in self-discipline and real utility, by frankly recognizing the limited function which they have to discharge.

Education is far from being a function of the schools alone. It is vastly more essential to human life than that would imply. Education is a universal requisite of human development. The animals are provided with nearly automatic instincts and owe but little to the rational teaching of experience. The human being enters life with little beyond capacity; he must be

educated or perish. The school of personal and social experience is always open ; the subjects of study are infinite in variety, and the teachers, however crude their equipment or rude their methods, are ever busy. Under ordinary conditions, however, each individual pursues but a limited range of study, and a narrow specialization is the fate of the great majority. In the midst of this universal process of education, the specific school arises to correct the crude methods and hap-hazard range of experience, and afford instruction in handling the instruments of a widening knowledge and the keys to the accumulating records of the experience and discoveries of others. These schools, and the universities as their highest expression, are not therefore, the exclusive organs of education, but simply aids to education. The more elementary of them are now regarded as practically indispensable to the most ordinary life in civilized communities, and the necessity for a training in the higher grades of the system is being more widely recognized. All honor to those who, by personal efforts manage to achieve the fruits of a higher education independently of university teaching, though not without university influences, for these extend far beyond the college halls. But the man who is securing for himself a true education, avoiding the tendency to a narrow absorption in the daily routine of a special business or calling, will be the last to depise the special advantages which an adequate university course affords.

Regarding the university, then, as simply an aid to education, and more especially as an aid in the development of breadth of mind and variety of interest, it must still be recognized, that for certain types of capacity it has but little advantage over the ordinary educational forces of every-day experience. A university education is therefore no guarantee of highly efficient results. It is simply an evidence of the enjoyment of certain opportunities which may or may not have proved of advantage to those who have had them. The characteristic value of a university education lies in the point of view which it develops, in the manner of approaching problems and the method of dealing with them, and, quite generally, in the attitude towards life and its realization which it induces in the minds of responsive students. These are the features which

give character to a university and to its student life, and which continue to develop and bear fruit in the lives of its graduates, long after they have forgotten the specific details of the classroom work.

From this point of view, the university man entering business life may be only in a very incidental manner equipped with specific information or training as to the particular business which he selects. But, if he has truly benefited by his university course, he will be anxious to understand the whole range of the business upon which he enters and will regard no labour which is requisite to that line as either trivial or undignified. Beyond that he will have a broad and well-balanced conception of the relation of his calling to others and to the ultimate purposes of life, with resources for broadening and enriching his own life and that of the community which the interest of no single calling can afford.

A. SHORTT.

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No. 3

CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE.

DURING the siege of Athens a deputation of the citizens harangued Sulla at length upon the legendary glory of the city; of Theseus and Eumolpus and the conquest of the Medes: which provoked Sulla to say, "go, my noble souls, and take back your fine speeches with you. For my part I was not sent to Athens to learn its antiquities." (Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*, Langhorne's Translation.)

The same thought is apt to occur to the foreigner, when he opens the report recently presented to the *Chambre des Députés* by M. Aristide Briand, on behalf of the Committee appointed to investigate the various problems in connection with the separation of the churches and the State, and the solutions which have been suggested. The report begins with the presidency of Constantine at the Council of Nicaea, discusses the career of Clovis, and traces in some detail the relations between the Roman Church and the French Government all down the long line of Merovingian, Carlovingian and Capetian monarchs. But M. Briand has a meaning; and it is very significant to find that though a socialist and a son of the French Revolution, and thus on both grounds inclined to "take the high priori road," he shows a full consciousness of the historical questions involved, and of the necessity of finding a solution which shall be along the lines, not of revolution, but of development.

France, logical as always, recognizes and subsidises the four chief religions of the country and its dependencies, the Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Mahometan. M. Anatole France has recently complained of this unjust discrimination against the Buddhists and the fire worshippers. The troubles which have arisen in connection with the present agitation for separation spring almost wholly from the long con-

tinued and intimate relations between the State and the Roman Catholics, the small body of Protestants being for the most part favourable to separation or neutral, and the Jews and Mahometans indifferent.

Though till the Revolution France proudly claimed the title of the eldest daughter of the Church, there was from very early times resistance to the interference of the Papacy in the temporal affairs of the kingdom. Even the pious St. Louis jealously upheld his prerogative: the quarrel between Philip le Bel and Boniface VIII dashed the papal dream of universal dominion and brought about what M. Hanotaux has called "the great bankruptcy of the middle ages." Later monarchs upheld their rights with less violence, but with equal tenacity, and played off the Gallican bishops against the Papacy.

These tendencies of the French Government and of the French Church did not at all impair their doctrinal soundness. The Council of Constance, the most Gallican of all the great Councils, burnt Huss; the revocation of the Edict of Nantes came in the middle of the great struggle between Louis XIV and the Papacy over the *régale*. But toward the end of the seventeenth century began a scepticism, which in the eighteenth culminated in the Encyclopédistes, and which found its fullest, though not its noblest expression in Voltaire. It is the combination of these two tendencies of political irritation and of doctrinal unbelief which has produced the present situation.

The Revolution and the first Empire profoundly altered the situation of the Church, both for the worse and for the better. The clergy lost their political status as the foremost of the three great orders; lost property amounting probably to \$30,000,000 a year; lost countless feudal and social privileges: throughout France their blood was poured out like water. But from the bitter fruit of persecution the church drew the strength which she had lost amid the sloth and corruption of kingly favours. The vast majority of the clergy held true. Some, such as Talleyrand and Sieyès, avowed the infidelity they had long felt, and frankly threw in their lot with the Revolution; others, such as the heroic though imprudent Gregoire, tried hard to serve two masters and to be faithful alike to the Republic and to the Church; but few were as bad as the one, or

as liberal as the other. Many an easy Epicurean, whose life had been but weak and erring, found strength in the hour of trial to seal his testimony with his blood, and died a martyr of the Holy Catholic Church. From the soil thus watered sprang a revived church, and when the long struggle between Pius VII and Napoleon closed, it was not the head of the Papacy who died at St. Helena.

Before 1789 the clergy had been a separate order in the state, rich and powerful enough to preserve a certain liberty, to play off monarch against pope. They had been devoted to the head of a state, who though jealous of his prerogative in temporal matters, and demanding a large liberty in questions of morality, recognized them as the only true church and loaded their leaders with wealth and honours. After 1815, and still more after 1830, their wealth, social prestige and control of education had vanished. They were no longer connected by ties of blood with the foremost families in France; power was in the hands of a Voltairean bourgeoisie. Hence they drew steadily towards the Vatican, whose policy grew more and more *intransigent*, and ultramontane, as the struggle intensified against the principles of '89 and against the assailants of its temporal power. The Encyclical "*Quanta cura*"; the *Syllabus** specifying among the eighty chief errors of our time the liberty of the press and freedom of education; the decree of papal infallibility in 1870; were accepted almost without a struggle by the French clergy. "We have no longer a Gallican Church", cries Anatole France, "we have only the well drilled militia of a foreign power".

The unpardonable sin mentioned in the Scriptures was defined by the scholastic doctors as the Sin of Despair. To this sin the Church of Rome has never yielded. All through the nineteenth century she has fought to bring about the Counter-Revolution, and more than once has been within measurable distance of success. In 1901 M. Waldeck Rousseau summed up her ideal by quoting from a Jesuit manual: "*un seul culte*

*The *Syllabus* collects into one eighty errors which had been denounced in previous letters or encyclicals. Like many other documents, both ecclesiastical and political, it is so expressed that its terms may be either explained to the believer as frankly condemnatory of modern civilization, or explained away to the Protestant as meaning little or nothing.

reconnu, le culte Catholique : sa pratique obligatoire : les noms des non-pratiquants cloués à la porte des paroisses : la restitution des biens ecclésiastiques : le mariage civil déclaré un concubinage : les registres de l'État civil rendus au clergé." Again and again during this speech M. Waldeck Rousseau was fiercely interrupted and contradicted : yet this frank summary of the Church's claims was allowed to pass in sullen silence. Indeed, reading the avowals of M. de Mun, the foremost lay representative of Catholicism, it is difficult to see how M. Waldeck Rousseau could have been contradicted. The State, says M. de Mun, must be based upon Christianity, *i.e.*, upon unquestioning obedience to the Holy Catholic Church. There is no permanent greatness to a nation unless it be based upon morality. But morality, apart from religion, is impossible, and religion outside of the Roman Catholic Church, is false and vain ; and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church can be taught only by the priesthood.

Hence ever since 1815 the Church has endeavoured to get into her hands the education of the rising generation. Under the Restoration (1815-1830), although the general tone of the Government was friendly, the teaching orders were more strictly controlled, and found more difficulty in obtaining authorization than is often supposed. The constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe (1830-1848) saw the great struggle with which are associated the names of Lacordaire and of Montalembert. "A free Church in a free State" was their cry. "In the midst of a free people," said Montalembert in full Senate, "we shall never consent to be Helots ; we are the successors of the martyrs, and we have no fear of the successors of Julian the Apostate : we are the sons of the Crusaders, we shall not retreat before the sons of Voltaire." Freedom to teach and freedom to combine with whom we will, were his claims. "For myself I reject with energy all thought of clerical monopoly. A clerical monopoly would be the deadliest present we could give to the clergy, and the surest means of destroying all that remains of religion in France". (Speech to the Senate, April 25, 1844.) "We wish", said *L'Avenir*, the organ of these Neo-Catholics, "as large a liberty as is consistent with the common law of the land."

The struggle was furious in its intensity. The Abbé Desgarets, Canon of Lyons, declared in *Le Monopole Universitaire*, published in 1843, that the products of the State monopoly of education were "suicide, parricide, infanticide, homicide, duels, rape, abduction, seduction, incest, adultery, the most monstrous forms of indecency, theft, spoliation, blackmailing, unjust laws and taxes, false witness, perjury, slander, anarchy, insurrection, tyranny, revolution, death, etc." (quoted by Debisdour : *L'Église et L'État en France*, p. 450). Another described the students as "these old men of three to four lustra, their faces wrinkled and leaden, their gaze dull and lascivious : melancholy victims of the lust which devours their frail bodies, which quenches the light of their intellect in its immortal shrine, which poisons the young blood in their young hearts, hearts burnt to ashes by the fire of their passionate lubricity, which turns foul the air in the depths of their chests, chests which heave with the burden of a precocious decrepitude". Michelet, in "*Les Jesuites*" (1843) and "*Le pretre, la femme, la famille*" (1845) hit back with equal vigour and attributed to the priesthood every sin of which his prurient and dyspeptic genius could conceive.

The brief Republic of 1848 was favourable to the Church. In the street riots in June the red flag of revolution had been raised ; the cry of "à la lanterne" had been heard again. The Voltairean bourgeoisie saw in anticipation the bloody days of '93 revived, and found in the Church the one sufficient policeman of the masses. In addition, Thiers, their leader, had axes of his own to grind, and hoped to sharpen them upon the Catholic whetstone. When the commission upon education assembled in 1849 the Abbe Dupanloup*, one of its members, pleaded eloquently that the cause of the teaching orders, and more especially of the Jesuits, was the cause of justice and of virtue. "Cousin, Cousin,"† cried Thiers, "the Abbé is right.

*Dupanloup (Felix-Antoine-Philibert) (1802-1878) became in 1849 Bishop of Orleans. It was he who in 1838 had reconciled to the Church the dying Talleyrand. The motive of the Prince of Benevento was probably the same as that given in similar circumstances by his niece, Madame de Dino, "Think what a good effect it will have upon the servants." It is not given to many ministers of religion to make two such converts as Talleyrand and Thiers.

†Cousin (Victor) (1792-1867) the celebrated French statesman and eclectic philosopher, under ordinary circumstances as little a Catholic and as staunch an upholder of the university monopoly as Thiers himself.

Too true, too true, we have fought against justice and against virtue and we owe them amends". (Debidour, 503.)

The result of this curious alliance of Loyola and Voltaire was the "Loi Falloux"* of 1850, which for the next fifty years was the great charter of the advocates of liberty of instruction. While not giving full satisfaction to Catholics, it granted them a large measure of freedom in primary, secondary and advanced teaching, and a share in the government of the University† itself.

Under the second Empire (1852-1870) Catholicism more than held its own, but its chief triumphs were won in the field of foreign affairs.‡ The downfall of Napoleon the Little might have hastened that of the Church, for France still believes that the war was in large measure forced on by the clerical advisers of Eugénie; but, as in '48, the mad chaos of the Commune alarmed the bourgeoisie, and the Church was again saved. On the whole, however, the Third Republic took an anti-clerical line, and the Church more or less openly favoured Monarchy. But in 1892 that profound statesman, Leo XIII, seeing that the fall of Boulanger had so compromised the Orleanists that all hope from the ancient dynasties was dead, § issued his famous encyclical, bidding "all honest and intelligent Frenchmen to cast aside every trace of political discord, and to consecrate their every effort to the pacification of their country."

A brief honeymoon followed the new alliance. It was rudely disturbed by the Dreyfus affair, which, as has been said,

*So called from the eminent Roman Catholic nobleman who presided over the Commission and in great part directed its proceedings.

†The University of France includes all State-controlled institutions of secondary or higher learning.

‡In 1862 Renan was dismissed from his chair of Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac in the *College de France*, and this has ever since served as a splendid stick with which to belabour clerical intolerance. To me it seems distinctly less blameable than the dirty trick by which in 1904 the Combes Government juggled out of his chair in the University M. Ferdinand Brunetière, a prominent Catholic and the most eminent literary critic in France. I do not love in any form the devil of religious intolerance, but on the whole the Roaring Lion is less objectionable than the Serpent. Besides, the open persecution of a dogmatic body has at least a logical basis wanting to the mean intolerance of the so-called Free-thinker.

§A story is told that when a well known Royalist urged the Pope to remain true to the cause of the Monarchy, the venerable Pontiff pointed to a crucifix and said with his wise smile, "Behold the only corpse to which the Church must cling."

produced more widespread commotion in France than had been since the promulgation of the Bull Unigenitus in 1713. Amid the many tangled threads of "L'Affaire" one is easy to trace. The Jews, freethinkers, socialists and advanced Republicans were Dreyfusard, while church and army were strongly anti-Dreyfus, with vague dreams of a coup d'Etat, and of a *République plébiscitaire* as the first step toward a revival of the Empire. In 1900 Waldeck Rousseau came into power with an avowed policy of anti-clericalism and of *défense républicaine*. His great work was the law (of July 1st, 1901,) by which all unauthorised religious orders (Congrégations) were given three months in which to seek authorisation, on pain of abolition.

The carrying out of this law fell in 1902 to his successor, M. Emile Combes, once an Abbé, and hating the Church with the rancorous bitterness of a turncoat. "Le petit père Combes," as his antagonists loved to call him, showed great political sagacity and talent in forming the varied and often jarring fragments of anti-clericalism into the famous "Bloc." His two most prominent supporters were the Free Masons, forced by years of clerical hostility into a bitter intolerance, and the Socialists, led by MM. Jaurès and Aristide Briand. "If the Government executes the law of the associations in the spirit in which it was conceived," he said at the outset of his career, "the teaching orders have had their day." La Loi des Associations y a pourvu, Si le Gouvernement l'exécute dans l'esprit qui l'a conçue, l'enseignement congréganiste aura vécu.) (Interview in the *Figaro*, March 18, 1902.)

Strong in the united support which so seldom falls to a French Prime Minister, he applied the law with a severity which Waldeck Rousseau himself openly and vigorously disavowed. Over 700 congregations with over 10,000 teaching establishments applied for authorisation. Instead of taking up each application separately, the Government ranged them under three categories according as they devoted themselves to teaching, charity, or meditation, and rejected each of the three categories *en bloc*. In vain the monks of the Chartreuse from their rocky monastery pleaded their absolute aloofness from politics, and their noble benefactions to the neighbouring townships and villages : in vain they submitted a statement of their

possessions, their receipts and their disbursements : courted the fullest publicity : in vain was their application endorsed by the civil authorities of the Commune in which they were established, and by petitions from the neighbouring cantons. Grenoble was to know them no more. The "exposé des motifs" which warranted their exclusion and which the Government submitted to the Chambre des Députés on December 2, 1902, is a model of unfairness and of petty malice.* The legality of M. Combes' proceedings was very doubtful, but for that he cared little. "Never mind the law, turn him oot," might have been his motto, as it was that of Bishop Strachan.

The state of the case at present (October, 1905,) is a little difficult to discover. To the best of my knowledge, all the teaching congrégations of men, with their establishments, have been closed ; some six hundred teaching congrégations of nuns seem to have found refuge beneath the shelter of a law of 1825, and to have remained unmolested. The fate of the dissolved orders is curious. Most of those devoted to charity and contemplation have with sad hearts left their native land and sought refuge beneath an alien sky. The Grand Chartreuse, as all *bon vivants* know, has reopened in Spain ; Britain and Canada, as always, offered a welcome to exiles for conscience sake. Most, however, of the teaching orders have formed associations for the continuance of their work, changing only their name and their dress. This is especially true of the Assumptionists and the Jesuits, the two bodies against whom the Government had the most bitter and the best founded grounds of complaint. If this result has made it unnecessary for the state to suddenly improvise the vast numbers of lay schools which would otherwise have been required, it has also changed an open danger into one more secret. The result of an intolerance as bitter and as indiscriminating as that which led to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes has been to drive out some of the most valuable elements in the nation, and to render the teaching orders far less easily controllable.

*The Government descended to measures which seem very paltry. In January, 1903, they forbid the priests in Brittany to employ the Breton dialect in their sermons. The reasons given were that in the interests of Republican solidarity, French only should be employed, and that as many Government officials were ignorant of Breton, the priests were enabled to preach sedition with impunity.

Soon another and still more furious quarrel arose. Each party has been eager to represent itself as an injured innocent. As in most cases of divorce, neither is spotless. "It has ever been the tactic of the clerical," says Renan (*Histoire du Peuple d'Israël*) "to drive the civil authority to extremes, and then to hold up as unprovoked violence and atrocity those acts of repression which they provoke." This criticism might be directed, not without force, against both the Roman *Curia* and the *defroqué* Combes, in his attempt to burn the idols he had once adored.

M. Geay, Bishop of Laval, and M. Le Nordez, Bishop of Dijon, were true Catholics and loyal Republicans. Early in 1904 they were summoned to Rome to answer charges which had been brought against them of having flirted, the one with a Carmelite nun, the other with Free Masonry*. Under the terms of the Concordat,† they applied to the civil authorities for permission to leave their dioceses. This was refused. The Vatican gave them fifteen days to appear or to be dismissed from their Episcopal functions. Compelled thus, roughly to decide, the two prelates set out for Rome. On leaving Laval, M. Geay sadly said:—"Appointed Bishop of Laval by the concurrence of two powers, the civil and the religious, I did not consider it within my province to abandon my functions without the knowledge or against the will of either; in thus leaving my chief regret is that this sacrifice of myself is not to be the pledge of their reconciliation, my greatest bitterness that many Catholics strive so hard and so unceasingly to render incompatible the fidelity of a true bishop and the duty of a true Frenchman". On reaching Rome they were compelled to resign, and to crave pardon for their hesitation at the feet of Pius X.

Meanwhile President Loubet had paid an official visit to the newly crowned King of Italy. Against this official recognition by the "eldest daughter of the Church," of the church's

*These charges, which were vigorously denied by the accused prelates, were never proved. The question really at issue was the right of the Vatican to summon a Bishop to Rome without the consent of the civil power.

†The agreement signed in 1801 between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII, and which has ever since regulated the relations between the secular clergy and the State.

despoiler, the Vatioan protested in a formal letter to the Chancellaries of Europe. A clever Parisian journalist discovered that the letter to France omitted a significant sentence* contained in the protests addressed to the other powers.

Close upon the anger thus caused came the conclusion of the trial of the two bishops. The French Government withdrew their Ambassador to the Vatican; the Papacy recalled the Nuncio from Paris. "Chrlist has been driven out," cried the Bishop of Marseilles. A few weeks later (10th February, 1905,) the Chamber of Deputies passed by 386 to 111 a resolution stating that "the Chamber considers that the attitude of the Vatican has rendered necessary the separation of the churches and the State, and relies upon the Government to accomplish such a separation immediately after dealing with the budget and the law concerning military service".

In reality the free thinking majority had long determined upon the separation; to say that it was forced upon them by the attitude of the Vatican is simply to talk "in a Pickwickian manner", in order to gain an advantage in the game of party fence. The Combes ministry came into power on June 7, 1902. Less than three weeks later (June 27) M. Déjeante, one of their ardent supporters, brought in a proposal "to renounce the Concordat, suppress immediately all the congregations, take over their goods and those of all other ecclesiastical establishments, and devote the sums set free by the suppression of the state subsidies for religious purposes (budget des cultes) to the creation of working men's pensions." Others followed, and though the Government refused to adopt any of them, a commission was appointed to consider the question of separation (20 Oct., 1902). A shower of propositions and projects was at once hurled at the commission: the most statesmanlike being that of M. Francis de Pressensé, a socialist, but still retaining some of the mingled tolerance and fervour of his great father. On the 18th of June, 1903, the members of the commission were finally nominated. It comprised seventeen supporters of sepa-

*"And, if in spite thereof, the Papal Nuncio has remained at Paris, this fact is entirely due to very grave motives of policy, motives which are of a very special order." (Canadian readers will recall the two editions of the *Montreal Star*.)

ration, and sixteen opponents, and has from the first conducted its discussions on strictly party lines.

On March 21 M. Aristide Briand introduced to the *Chambre des Députés* the report of the commission. The Catholic party felt themselves in a minority, and argued comparatively little on the question of principle, concerning themselves chiefly with details, discussing keenly the financial side of the question, and haggling over the ringing of church bells and the repairs of vicarages. Perhaps they felt that enough had already been said, within and without the House; perhaps they are reserving themselves for the elections of 1906; perhaps faith is growing weak; perhaps the Holy See is in its inmost heart not disinclined for separation, and has grown weary of state servitude; at all events in the discussions in the French Chamber, passion, ardour, logic, were on the side of the anti-clericals. Much academic learning was displayed in endeavours to prove that the Concordat was bi-lateral, and could only be dissolved by the free consent of both parties; or that state aid had been given as compensation for the estates confiscated during the Revolution, and could be withdrawn only upon their restoration. Threats were made more or less openly that in the event of separation the Pope would hand over to Germany* the cherished prerogative of France of affording protection to the Roman Catholic Christians in the East. How frail is all this "to that large utterance of the early gods" when Montalembert thundered from the Tribune of the Luxembourg, and Lacordaire from the pulpit of Notre Dame.

In passing through the House the project of M. Briand, already too liberal to content the fiercer opponents of the Church, was still further liberalised, such men as Briand, Jaurès, Pressensé, evidently feeling that if they could carry their principle they could afford to be generous in financial matters; pos-

*This, as will be remembered, was the question which bulked so largely as a pretext for the Crimean war. The Kaiser promptly seized the opportunity of making, through his Chancellor, advances to the Vatican. At the time Pius X was introducing certain reforms into the Bishopsrics of Southern Italy, and a German periodical took advantage of the situation to produce a cartoon, in which the burly Luther and the emaciated Loyola met on the highway:

"Whither away, friend Luther?"

"To Rome, to greet a Reforming Pope. And thyself, Holy Ignatius?"

"To Berlin, to greet Count Bulow, the only true defender of the Holy Catholic Church."

sibly not without the thought that financial generosity will not be a bad card to play next spring. and that to represent the Church as haggling over the loaves and fishes, while the Free-Thinker shows a fine and liberal contempt for such sordid details, may be a successful electioneering manoeuvre. On the evening of July 3rd the measure as amended passed the Chambre des Députés by 341 votes to 233. It was at once placed before the Senate, who referred it to a Committee, which promptly adopted it in four sessions without a single alteration. Should it be in any way amended by the Senate, such amendments must again be discussed in the Chambre, and the supporters of separation are thus very anxious to hurry it through, in order that at the general election of 1906 the electorate may be confronted by the *fait accompli*.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

W. L. GRANT.

WALLACE'S THEORY OF THE EARTH.

A CRITICISM.

DISCUSSION, whether scientific or otherwise, should be carried on for the purpose of getting at truth, whatever the truth may be, and to whatever conclusions it may lead. This should be the aim and object of all serious discussion. But to carry out a discussion with this end in view is sometimes and with some persons a difficult matter, inasmuch as it necessitates a well balanced mind that can justly and impartially weigh the pros and the cons as they present themselves, and a mind which is free from bias and from the warping tendencies of preconceived opinions and misdirected youthful education.

But a discussion may be entered into, and by some people is entered into, not so much for the purpose of arriving at truth as for that of rendering more feasible some old accepted dogma, or of bolstering up, as far as possible, some foregone conclusion into the possession of which the person has come as the result of early training. Those who employ discussion for this purpose invariably present in the highest lights those arguments which support their special views, while keeping in the background all unfavourable points.

A recent writer in the *Scientific American*, who to some extent reviews the work of Dr. Alfred Wallace upon the speculation that this earth is the only body in the whole universe fitted for the production and sustentation of organic beings, appears to have directed his argumentation along the latter line rather than along the former.

He says that "Dr. Wallace's utterances tending to show that this earth is the only body in the known creation suited for life, such as we find it here upon the globe, has awakened a strong interest among progressive scientists."

This is a somewhat peculiar statement to make after Dr. Wallace's own complaint that while the astronomers had not been able to confute his arguments the biologists had left him severely alone as if his biological opinions were not worth considering.

Of course it is very easy to make statements in astronomy, and in fact in most other subjects, which cannot be confuted by any kind of direct proof obtainable, and which, nevertheless, have little or no probability in their favour. And yet there are cases in which without the means of direct proof it may be necessary to form some conclusion or reasonable hypothesis in the matter. The only grounds upon which we can then rest our arguments are analogy and logical probability.

Thus some astronomers have ventured the opinion that the invisible half of the moon's surface may consist of arable soil, watered by streams and blessed with all that pertains to the life and comfort of intellectual beings. This opinion can never be shown, by direct proof or observation, to be absolutely untrue, as it is generally admitted that man will never be able to see, or to study by means of the telescope, the remote surface of the moon. But whether, under the constitution of the universe, such a state of matters as that referred to be possible or not, it is quite certain that it is altogether improbable. For under that apparent motion of the moon known as libration we are enabled to see a little way "around the corner" as it were, to see a little over one edge, and then a little over the other, but the new parts thus presented are in no respect different from the general surface exposed to view, so that there is nothing here to lend any force to the idea that the opposite surfaces of the moon are materially different from one another. Besides, the general character of the moon's atmosphere, of her mountainous surface, and of her various features, plainly indicate that the forces which brought the moon into her present condition were quite universal in character.

In like manner any one may claim that our sun is at the centre of the universe, as Dr. Wallace has done ; but in this case it becomes necessary to define what we are to understand by *the centre*, whether it be the mass centre or the centre of position, for it is altogether probable that these two centres, instead of being coincident, are separated by an immense distance.

Besides, how can a body moving through space, relatively to the general mass of stars, at the rate of 150 millions of miles a year remain in any one position entitled to be called a centre?

Of course there must be a mass centre as also a centre of position to the universe, if the universe be limited—an assumption which cannot be proved—but that any particular body occupies either centre as a permanent position is so improbable that it is scarcely worth serious consideration.

Besides, a limited universe, with its comparatively small amount of matter in an unlimited space, can best be likened to some exceedingly rarefied summer cloud floating in the higher atmosphere. The cloud has centres just as a limited universe has, but no person would be inclined to say that any important or distinctive properties were conferred upon a vesicle of vapour which might at any particular moment occupy the position of one of the centres, and because of its occupying such a position.

Moreover, if we are to look upon the central position as one of honour, of honour so great that the body occupying it should be endowed with unique and transcendent qualities, such as those of being the nursery and the home of the only intellectual beings in the whole universe, then it would accord better with man's ideas of the fitness of things if the central body should be also transcendent in brilliancy and glory. But what are the facts? Our sun is only a fourth-rate star, and this little globe, which in a few hundred years more will be congested with human inhabitants, is one of the smaller of the planets which do homage to the sun. Hundreds, and probably thousands, out of the hosts of heaven are superior to our sun in size and excel him in intrinsic brightness, and it is only reasonable to suppose that some of these may be central suns to retinues of planets.

It is all very well to assert that this earth is at the centre of the universe or near it, and that on this account it is honoured above other planetary objects in the whole creation. But such assertion, instead of rising to the dignity of a reasonable theory, can be considered only as a speculation founded upon preconceived ideas, and intended, as far as possible, to support and establish these ideas.

As to the interest which has been awakened amongst progressive scientists, one is inclined to ask where and in what way this awakening has been shown. Of course all new books come pretty generally under the notice of the reviewer, but that

reliable scientific journals of the day have not given any abnormal amount of space to the discussion of Dr. Wallace's ideas must be evident to those who are in the habit of perusing such journals.

The writer alluded to goes on to say that Prof. T. J. G. See, of the United States navy, claims that the study of the double stars rather supports Dr. Wallace's contention, namely, that this earth is the only body in the universe fitted for the support of organic life.

How the study of the double stars lends any aid whatever to such a speculation it is difficult to understand.

Double stars, so called, are systems of two stars, or suns, which revolve about each other in very eccentric orbits, being sometimes comparatively near to one another, and at other times far apart. As a consequence any planets revolving about one of the members of the system might be subject to such great extremes of heat, arising from the near approach of the other sun, as to be totally unfitted for organic life. But, although this might be the case, it does not follow that it must always be the case, even with double stars.

Moreover, every astronomer is aware that not one-tenth, and probably not one-thousandth of all the stars in the universe are double stars; and Prof. See himself holds the view that double stars are amongst the newer products of those generating processes which appear to be always in action throughout the universe. So that nothing whatever can be predicated with certainty as to the form which these products may assume before arriving at their maturer age, or that of the beginning of their decay.

To argue from the double stars to all the vast concourse of the starry system is just about as philosophic as it would be for a person who had seen Niagara to assert that as Niagara Falls does not admit of the passage of ships, therefore there is no navigable river in the world.

The writer in the *Scientific American* goes on to say that "the number of dark bodies in the heavens is immense, and of course it is possible that some of these may afford conditions suitable for organic life; but up to this time astronomers are unable to point to a single body of this kind (that is capable of

supporting life) outside of our solar system. This in a measure supports the contentions of Dr. Wallace."

This argument is certainly unique. How does he know that the number of dark bodies in the universe is immense. It is certainly not because he or any other person has seen them, for no telescope ever built has as yet given any direct evidence of the existence of a single one, and the only proof for their existence is inference and analogy. And yet when the same manner of proof is applied for the existence of intelligent animals, or indeed any animals outside of the solar system, he promptly rejects it.

Some stars, such as Algol, vary their brightness periodically, and we infer that the phenomenon is due to a partial eclipse caused by a dark body revolving about the bright central one in an orbit whose plane is nearly parallel to the line of sight. We adopt this explanation because it appears to be the most reasonable one; but of course it may not be the true one. And then again the body cannot be very small, and it need not be very dark. For a large body approximating in size to the central star, and relatively less brilliant, would be quite sufficient, and it must be remembered that the telescope reveals nothing except a variation in the brightness of the star.

Other stars suffer a very minute periodical displacement which is explainable on the assumption that they are attracted or drawn aside by one or more bodies in their vicinity, but whether these bodies be dark or not cannot be easily determined. And in any case the disturbing body must have a very large mass in order to render the displacement of the central star visible at such immense distances. But we have no direct evidence that very large bodies, commensurable in size with our sun, for instance, are also dark; so that we have no direct evidence that the number of dark bodies in the universe is immense.

But there are thousands and millions of stars which are not double stars, and which undergo neither sensible variation in brightness nor any measurable apparent and periodical displacement. In fact this is the character of the great majority of the stars, and what of these? Are they centres of distant local systems, ruling over a retinue of attendant planets as our

own sun does, or are they lone and solitary individuals rolling forever on through the ethereal fields of space? Nothing but analogy can indicate any answer to the question.

What we know of our own solar system, and what we believe to be the truth in regard to its mode of formation, constrain us to believe that those stars which are devoid of strongly abnormal characters are in many respects much like our own sun warming and cheering and holding within the bounds of their respective orbits retinues of smaller and cooler bodies, that is, of attendant planets, admitting, of course, that there may be little or much variation in details as we pass from system to system.

Thus reasoning from analogy we infer that there must indeed be an immense number of dark and planetary bodies in the universe, and this conclusion must be drawn from analogy alone and not from anything that has ever been revealed along this line by direct observation.

But analogy goes further and suggests to us the possibility, and even the probability, that some of these planetary bodies may possess the conditions necessary for the development and support of organic life. So that, how these considerations support the contentions of Dr. Wallace, that there is no life outside the solar system, it is pretty difficult to see.

Lastly, we read "It appears that as far as telescopic research has yet extended, we know of no world suited for life outside the solar system. For some reason the solar system appears to be absolutely unique in the known creation. But, of course, astronomers are too conservative to say that no other like it will ever be discovered."

If the writer means that knowledge can be obtained by observation only, then he is quite correct in saying that we *know* of no world suited for life outside the solar system. And the reason for this is very obvious.

All the large bodies certainly known to us outside the solar system are suns, and although Sir William Herschell, probably the greatest astronomer of past ages, once thought that our sun might be the home of sentient beings, no astronomer holds such a view now. For unlike Herschell, who conjectured that the light came from an upper luminous atmosphere while the

body of the sun might be comparatively cool, the present day astronomer knows that the sun is a heated seething mass with a temperature so exalted as to melt and gasify and decompose into constituent elements every known substance.

It would be folly to look for life upon worlds such as this, and all the stars come within the category of suns. A world to support living things cannot possibly be sufficiently hot to be self-luminous, and as a consequence it can probably not be very large; and it must be dependent upon some vastly larger body which is self-luminous, or in other words, some sun for its light, and to a greater or less extent for its heat and actinism aslo.

But the smaller dark and planetary bodies would not be visible in any existing telescope. For Dr. Young pointed out many years ago that a body of the size of Jupiter, which is by no means a small planet, even if it were as bright intrinsically as the sun, would require a telescope with an object glass about 21 feet in diameter to render it visible at the distance of the nearest fixed star, Alpha centauri. But it is safe to say that no astronomer entertains the slightest hope that a telescope of such a size will ever be built. And if planetary bodies circling about some distant star be as dark as the earth is, no telescope, however large, would be capable of rendering them visible to us. So that even if there be untold numbers of planetary bodies revolving each in its own orbit about some distant sun, and each fitted for being the home of living creatures, there is not the slightest hope that by any kind of observation we could ever discover their existence. Any one is thus enabled to make the assertion that the solar system contains the only inhabited body in the universe with a full assurance that he cannot be proved to be wrong. While on the other hand he who maintains that there may be, or even are, hundreds of thousands of planetary bodies fitted for animal life, may be certain that his views can never be successfully challenged.

Here again analogy is the only support upon which we can rest, and those to whom our solar system appears to be "absolutely unique" in the known creation are those who, looking for observational or experimental proof which can never be forthcoming, reject analogy altogether from their form of argument.

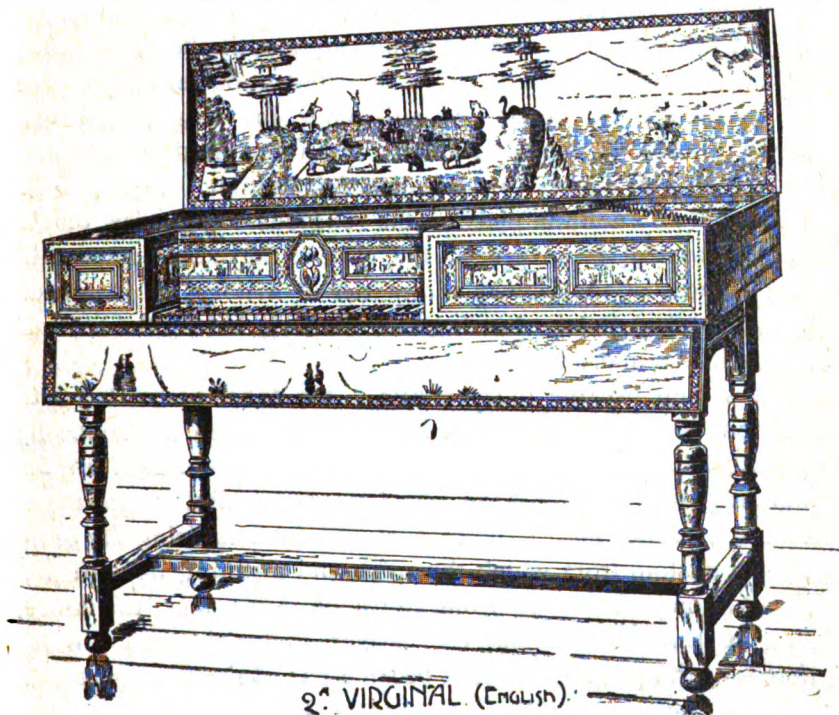
Speculation as to whether intelligence is confined to the solar system or not may be very interesting, but it is well to remember that after we have exhausted speculation we are as far as ever from being in a position to dogmatize on the question. And it is quite safe to say that no amount of future investigation which man can make will throw any light whatever upon the matter as far as systems outside our own are concerned.

Those who reject the reasonable argument from analogy will never be wiser than they are at present, and to them the solar universe will forever be unique. Dr. Wallace and his followers, and those who are under the influences of the same preconceived ideas, may rest satisfied with their particular and limited view, but they should remember that they can prove nothing, and that there are many scientific minds in the world which do not see eye to eye with them in this respect. Many of us believe that the universe was not made in vain—that the distant twinkling points which withdraw themselves from the ken of the mightiest telescopes and reveal their presence only under the influence of the chemical rays, have some purpose in their being, and were not created merely for the delectation and admiration of man, even if any of the stars were so created—who believe that our own solar system is not all-important in the great universe, and that the life duration of the former does not measure that of the latter—that the wonderful pageant of the stars was there before our solar system came into existence, and that it will be there still for long æons of time after the fires of our sun shall have been quenched and man become a thing of the distant past. Who believe that while there is endless variety in the heavens, there is also a wonderful uniformity of law and principle—that similar conditions will give rise to similar results, and those environments which produced organic being upon earth would produce it upon any planet similarly situated. And who absolutely refuse to believe that amongst the hundred millions of stars which sparkle in the universal vault, there are none with an attendant planet sufficiently like this earth in condition to make it capable of producing and sustaining life.

N. F. DUPUIS.

THE RELATION OF MUSIC TO THE DANCE.

A DANCE to be complete must have some sort of rhythmic accompaniment. It may be only the beating of time, the music of savage nations, but regulated rhythm there must be,



A VIRGINAL OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

to govern the movements of the body, else dancing would degenerate into mere human contortions, and music into mere noise.

With this simple argument to start with, we can readily understand how music has gone hand in hand with dancing from the time when men first discovered the joy of rhythmic motion and, like children, expressed themselves in song and dance, to the present day, when music, though still ministering to the dance, has grown from the rude music of a Tubal Cain's hammer, mayhap the world's first baton, into a wonderful art

whose tones still hold for those who have ears to hear new and finer combinations.

"Each tone of our scale in itself is nought ;
It is everywhere in the world—loud, soft, and all is said :
Give it to me to use ! I mix it with two in my thought,
And there ! Ye have heard and seen ; consider, and bow the head !"

In the frequent references to dancing in Old Testament story there is usually an allusion, also, to vocal or instrumental accompaniments. Miriam went out to meet the hosts of Israel "with timbrel and with dance" ; the women of Jerusalem welcomed their hero, David, with dancing and singing ; whilst David himself in his worship of the Divine used both music and dancing to express his feelings of exaltation. Whether the dance had any definite place in the religious ceremonies of the Jews seems to be uncertain, but that it played an important part in those of the Greeks is a matter of history, as instanced in the Greek populace dancing and singing before the various deities in the market places.

As men became more civilized the dance associated with religious rites gradually disappeared, influenced no doubt by the Christian religion, and the wail of the children in the market place. "We have piped unto you and ye have not danced", sounds across the centuries like the expiring cry of an ancient custom from which the spirit and meaning have fled.

Although excluded from religious ceremonies, the dance, as a pastime, still found its "season under the sun" in the homes of the people, where it became one of the few sources of pleasure throughout the Dark Ages. Like song and poetry, its traditional tunes depended solely on the memory for preservation, there being as yet no recognized method by which musical ideas could be expressed in writing.

Out of this necessity for memorizing song and verse grew that class of medieval musicians known in different places and periods as scalds, bards, minstrels, jongleurs, trouvères and troubadours, whose marvellous feats of memory must have more than equalled those required by the most exacting Wagner rôle of to-day.

With no more adequate medium than memory on which to record musical ideas, advance was hardly to be looked for in

either sacred or secular music. The first impulse towards growth began in the opening years of the eleventh century, when a crude code of characters representing the various tones of the scale came into general use. These rude beginnings constituted the most significant event in the early history of music, endowing it with possibilities hitherto unknown, and proving a vehicle of expression as important to music as was the invention of letters to the human speech.

From the Church, within whose sheltering walls was centred all the scholarship of the times, and to whose fostering care was due the early life of art, came this first formulated plan of retaining musical sounds. It was no doubt the growth of many years and many minds, but the name of the monk, Guido of Arezzo, will ever be associated with the method, which, modified and made more practical, remains to-day the universal sign-manual of the language of music.

The Church's music, as we know it in the Gregorian chant, was the heritage of more than four centuries of oral transmission, and had developed into a form of its own, called Counterpoint, which consisted of a "combination of melodies" of equal value, sung together and agreeing with each other in sound.

These chants are still the chief glory of the Roman Catholic mass to-day. Their grave and sombre character is due to the old modes or scales, which, broadly speaking, contain in their progression only the tones represented by the white keys of the piano, the semi-tones, represented by the black keys, being an after-addition, creating the brighter tonality of the major scale of our day.

In later music perhaps no better examples of counterpoint are to be found than the choruses of Handel's "Messiah", where the interest greatly lies in the skill with which four or more voice-parts move in independent melody, while at the same time blending in perfect harmony.

As the use of the new musical notation spread from the cloister to the outside world, writers of secular music, trammelled by tradition, still followed this ecclesiastical mode, and, out-vieing each other in cleverness of contrapuntal construction, developed the form to the exclusion of the spirit.

"So your fugue broadens and thickens,
 Greatens and deepens and lengthens,
 Till we exclaim—"But where's music, the dickens?" "

But music is more than a mere form to be juggled with—a mathematical expression of the brain. It is also an expression of the imagination and the heart. Feeling the emptiness of these efforts, later composers, though still adhering to the form, turned to the music of the people for inspiration, and, attracted by the rhythm of the folk-dance, took their first step towards greater freedom of musical thought.

With these two influences at work the old Giges, Bourrées, Sarabandes, and Gavottes, possess a quaint rigidity of musical form, united to a charming rhythmic measure, which is the "hall-mark" of this period—a period which culminated in the advent of the great Sebastian Bach, whose writings will remain for all time models for this highly intellectual form of music.

Outside of the family of stringed instruments, which have hardly been improved upon to this day, and that "huge house of the sounds", the organ, the instruments for which much of this old music was written, were the precursors of the modern piano, and included the virginal, the favourite instrument of Queen Elizabeth, and said to be called from her as the virgin queen; the harpsichord, which resembled in outline a harp; and the clavichord and spinet, both prototypes of the fast-disappearing square piano. These were all keyed and stringed instruments of rarely more than four octaves and without pedals. Under such conditions the range was limited and a singing tone impossible, which explains many of the characteristics of the music of bygone days. Those were the days of the Pavan, Galliard, Gigue, Courante, Allemande, Gavotte, Bourrée, Minuet, and all such old world dances, only known to us to-day by the music which has survived, the form of the dance having disappeared with the dancers, "dust and ashes, dead and done with",

"Some with lives that came to nothing, some with deeds as well undone,
 Death stepped tacitly, and took them where they never see the sun."

The different types of national dances had spread from country to country, partly through wandering musicians, and

partly through war, which brought nations into contact with each other. This wealth of rhythm suggested to composers the idea of groping several dances together, both grave and gay, irrespective of nationality. From this arose the first idea of a sequence of parts forming a whole, which was the germ of the Suite, and out of which, in turn, grew the modern Sonata and Symphony. Thus the genealogy of our highest form of music is directly traceable to the simple and spontaneous nature-forms, implanted by a Divine consciousness in the human heart.

After various modifications the Suite resulted in a definite sequence of contrasting movements. The Allemande, a dance of German origin and of lively character, formed the opening number. It was followed by the Courante, a French dance, whose name, derived from "courier" to run, expresses well its character. Next in order came the slow and majestic Sarabande, of English adoption. Like "Sir Roger de Coverly", it was danced "long wayes for as many as will", as an old MS. quaintly puts it. Handel's noble air, "Lascio ch' io pianga", was originally a Sarabande in one of his operas.

Rigid examples of the Suite concluded with the Gigue, an Italian dance of rapid movement. Other dance movements however came to be regarded with favour, and were inserted before the Gigue. These were the Gavotte, a French dance, in quick time and associated generally with the Musette, whose odd droning bass preserves for us the bagpipe-like character of the almost obsolete instrument from which it takes its name; the Bourrée, a lively French dance, not unlike the Gavotte; the Siciliana, originating in Sicily and somewhat resembling the Gigue; and lastly, the Minuet, so-called from its diminutive steps, and characterized by a slow and graceful refinement of movement, hardly exceeded in the history of the dance. Life was less strenuous in the days when the Minuet held sway, and grace of motion and turn of phrase were an important part of life's accomplishments. The music of such familiar and old-world minuets as Boccherini's expresses as fully the formal elegance of the time of Louis XV as the "rag-time" music of our day expresses the "get out and hustle" manners of a newer civilization. Unlike the other dance forms, the Minuet took a

permanent place in the larger classical works, Haydn making a happy use of it in his symphonies, as also did Mozart. With Beethoven it became the Scherzo, which change so influenced later composers that with him the history of the Minuet practically ends.

Up to the time of Beethoven, whose work makes a dividing line between the purely objective music of this past period and the rise of the romantic composers, the Suite retained its popularity. It was represented foremost in rank, though not in time, by that mighty man of music, Bach, while both before and after him the most famous names in Europe were associated with the form.

The Suite still attracts modern composers of note, as is attested by Grieg's "Holberg Suite" and Suites for piano, cello, violin or orchestra by such men as Haff, St. Saens, Tschai-kowsky, Arensky, MacDowell and D'Albert.

The Tarantella and Saltarella, of Italian origin, are both dances which left their impress on the music of their day, though not making their way into the Suite. The former gained its name and a fictitious interest from its accredited power to heal a phase of hysteria, believed to be caused by the bite of the Tarantula, and bands of musicians travelled through the country playing their healing music. The cure, if cure there were, was no doubt due to the prolonged exercise of healthy, vigorous movement. Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book, preserved in Cambridge University, contains examples of these interesting old dances, and Weber, Chopin, Mendelssohn and others have perpetuated the rhythms peculiar to each in music, the charm of which is too well known to need recalling.

The Polonaise and Mazurka are both national dances of Poland. The former is said to have originated in a procession of Polish nobles and their wives before a newly-elected king in 1573. Eminently aristocratic, its stately and fascinating march rhythm has attracted such men as Bach, Handel, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert and Weber. It remained, however, for Chopin, Pole as he was by birth, to give both Polonaise and Mazurka their highest possible development. His Polonaises, divided into two classes, represent the glory and the downfall of Poland, while his Mazurkas are rendered doubly interesting

by the introduction of Polish airs and the peculiar refinement of their treatment.

It is impossible to leave this subject of the dance and its influence on the realm of music without touching on the most popular of all modern dances—the Waltz. It is a descendant of an older form, the Landler, Schubert being one of the first to develop it. For more than a century it has remained the fashion, the simplicity of its rhythm lending itself to all grades of composition, from the ephemeral production of the hour, the “catchy” tune of which is whistled to-day and forgotten to-morrow, to the brilliant and inimitable creations of that magician of dance-form, Chopin.

In Weber’s “Invitation to the Waltz” we have the prototype of the Chopin waltzes and all dance-forms which represent the application of dance-rhythm to absolute music. In this special province Chopin reigns supreme. He wrote for the listener, not for the dance, influencing the imagination rather than the physical sense of motion. His glowing fancy so beautified the rhythm that, though always insistent, it becomes the frame-work for a richness of decoration never before or since excelled.

On the other hand for simple beauty of rhythmic melody the name of Johann Strauss, the Viennese, stands alone. Unlike Chopin’s, his music appeals to the physical sense of motion rather than to the imagination. Motion is as naturally induced by the seductive strains of a Strauss waltz as a tree is swayed by the wind. In the history of the Waltz the name of Strauss will ever be remembered as having at one time, by the witchery of his strains, set almost the whole civilized world dancing.

Much might yet be told of the Norwegian dances which Grieg has enriched by his original and striking treatment, or of the Slavonic dances which Liszt, Brahms and Dvorak have woven with deftness into their work. But enough perhaps has been said to show the indebtedness of music to the dance, or shall it also be said, of the dance to music? Companions of reciprocity they must ever be. But music with her higher power to arouse human emotions has seen, with awakening soul, new and larger visions. She has learnt to speak a fuller language since first the dance taught her its joyous rhythm. Yet, not

forgetful of her old-time companion, they still go hand in hand
in many a holiday mood.

CATHERINE H. M. DRUMMOND.



▲ MINNESINGER.

PARACELSUS.

THE early part of the sixteenth century is remarkable for many things. The revival of learning had come with the study of the literatures of ancient Rome and Greece. Latin was the language in which the learned of Europe conversed, wrote and lectured. It was also the language of the church, not all churchmen being so ignorant of it as the priest who hearing the pious ejaculation, "St. Benedictus benedicat," added seriously, "St. Bernhard bernhardat." It was the time of Da Vinci, Michaelangelo, Raphael, Corregio and Titian; of Ariosto and Scaliger; of Copernicus; of Luther and Erasmus;



After an Engraving by Vriese.

and of the great world navigators who were following up the discoveries of Columbus. The invention of printing in 1452 had provided for the more rapid dissemination of ideas. The Reformation came and brought with it an atmosphere in which every human activity flourished. The weary old world renewed its youth. The three great rulers, Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V were born near the beginning of the century and began to reign before they were of age. Luther, Melancthon and Loyola were their contemporaries in age. So were Raphael and Tasso.

Into this world of fermenting ideas, seething politics and religious unrest was born one who is best known in history as Paracelsus. The place of his birth was Maria-Einsiedeln, near Zurich, in Switzerland. The date is a little uncertain, but it was between 1491 and 1495, probably in 1493. (Loyola was born in 1495, Luther in 1483.) His father was William Bombast von Hohenheim, a physician of noble descent. His mother was superintendent of the hospital at Einsiedeln. From his father, Theophrastus—this seems to have been the real name of our hero—received his early education, which was naturally strongly tinged with medicine, alchemy, astrology and chemistry. Einsiedeln was then, as now, a large village (now about 8,000) celebrated for its monastery, which even in those days of religious decay appears to have been the abode of some men of learning and sincere religion. The young lad, by his brightness and originality, seems to have attracted their attention ; and, both in these early days, and later, when the family removed to Austria, these kindly churchmen instructed him in the learning of the day. He particularly mentions Bishop Trithem, of Würzburg, as having taught him chemistry and alchemy. Trithem is the author of tracts on the elixir of life, &c. In 1502 the family went north to Villach, in Carinthia (Austria), where the elder Bombast practised medicine until his death in 1534, only seven years before the early death of his son. At the age of sixteen Theophrastus entered the great Swiss university at Basle, but he does not seem to have taken kindly to university life, as we find him a little later pursuing the study of alchemy and astrology under the guidance of such teachers as Bishop Trithem. He now seems to have joined the ranks of the "poor scholars", who roamed from college to college, and from monastery to monastery, seeking to increase their store of knowledge by conversation with learned men and by listening to their lectures, in the meantime picking up a living as best they could. He declares that he visited the chief universities of Italy, France and Germany and graduated as Doctor of Medicine. Having convinced himself that little was to be learned from books and from men who confined their study to books, he then joined himself to the wealthy family of Fuggers, of Augsburg, and visited their mines in the Tyrol to

study the origin of the metals at first hand. That he here made good use of his time can be seen on examination of his book on *The Economy of Minerals*. He now seems to have felt himself in contact with something real. He was impressed with the struggle with nature which was necessary before the precious metals could be won, and he became more and more convinced of the importance of actual personal observation. In his works he again and again returns to this idea, that positive knowledge of nature was not to be got in schools and universities, but only by going to those who were constantly engaged with her. In carrying out this idea of education he spent much time in studying the operations of mining, the nature of minerals and rocks, the action of water, and the accidents and diseases of the miners. He visited and studied smelting works and manufactories; he talked with all kinds of men, ever seeking to get the results of their own experience. He thus came to attach little value to mere scholarship. To adopt with him the methods of the disputatious schoolmen was like fluttering a red rag before a bull. Again and again he puts down his head and charges furiously upon such pedantic opponents. His writings abound in examples of this explosive wrath. After leaving the Tyrol he seems to have wandered over all Europe carrying out his idea of education. In Poland he was captured by a marauding band of Tartars and carried to Samarcand, the famed seat of Eastern learning and commerce. There he imbibed the spirit of Eastern mysticism everywhere to be found in his works. He seems to have won the favour of the ruling family by some remarkable cures and to have been taken to Constantinople. In 1526 he returned to Switzerland as a reformer of science and medicine, and as a wonder-working physician. He went to Basle, the scene of his early venture in university study. Here he was so fortunate as to cure of some disease Frobenius, the printer, who recommended him to *Æcolampadius*. By the latter's influence he was appointed to the chair of medicine and chemistry in the university. He was thus the first professor of chemistry on record. His inaugural lecture reveals many characteristics of the man as well as his theory of education. I, therefore, give a somewhat lengthy extract. It is dated at Basle, the nones of June, 1527:

"It is not a degree, nor eloquence, nor a faculty for languages, nor the reading of many books, although these are no small adornment, that are required in a physician; but the fullest acquaintance with subjects and with mysteries, which one thing easily supplies the place of all the rest. For it is indeed the part of a rhetorician to discourse learnedly, persuade and bring over the judge to his opinion; but it behoves the physician to know the genera, causes and symptoms of affections, to apply his remedies to the same with sagacity and industry, and to use all according to the best of his ability. But to explain the method of teaching in a few words, I must first speak of myself. I, being invited by an ample salary of the rulers of Basle, for two hours in each day do publicly interpret the books both of practical and theoretical medicine, physics and surgery, whereof I myself am author, with the greatest diligence, and to the great profit of my hearers. I have not patched up these books after the fashion of others from Hippocrates, Galen or any one else; but by experience, the great teacher, and by labor have I composed them. Accordingly, if I wish to prove anything, experiment and reason for me takes the place of authorities."

He then lighted some sulphur in a pan, and to these Tartarean flames he consigned the works of Galen, Avicenna, Averrhoes and Aristotle, to the amazement and horror of his audience. Books were expensive and prejudices strong in those days! Browning puts into his mouth a probable explanation of this act:

"Here's a case now,
Why I answer not, but burn
The books you mention. Pray does Luther dream
His arguments convince by their own force
The crowds that own his doctrine? No, indeed!
His plain denial of established points
Ages had sanctified and men supposed
Could never be oppugned while earth was under
And heaven above them,—points which chance or time
Affected not,—did more than the array
Of arguments which followed. Boldly deny!
There is much breath-stopping, hair stiffening
Awhile; then amazed glances, mute awaiting
The thunderbolt which does not come; and next
Reproachful wonder and inquiry; those
Who else had never stirred, are able now
To find the rest out for themselves, perhaps
To outstrip him who set the whole at work."

Paracelsus has recorded his own opinion on the subject of the Reformation as follows:—"Had I time to meddle with such matters I would send both the Pope and the Reformers to school."

He astonished his hearers by another departure from the accepted fashion; he lectured, not in Latin, but in the vulgar tongue. His teachings were received with the utmost enthusi-

asm, and his class room was crowded daily. But his popularity soon began to wane and his students gradually deserted him. It is very difficult to get at the facts and to decide how much of his loss of popularity was due to his own indiscretions and how much to the malice of the Galenists. Up to this period he was a man of unusually abstemious habits; but he is now charged with habitual intoxication. According to one biographer, he spent his nights carousing in low taverns. He rarely lectured that he was not drunk; he was drunk when he visited his patients, and drunk when he wrote his books. Such accusations are more easily made than refuted. Berdoe concludes, after a careful examination of the evidence, that they are, at least in large part, due to the malice of the older doctors whose traditional methods had been brought into disrepute by the common-sense practice of this brilliant new-comer. The incident which led to his break with Basle is characteristic. A certain canon of the cathedral, tormented with the gout, offered Paracelsus 100 florins if he would relieve him. The cure was effected, but the canon in health repented of the promise made while he was in pain. Paracelsus had recourse to the law. The magistrates in their wisdom decided that the canon should pay only the value of the medicines he had taken! Paracelsus denounced the court in a speech which one would like to have heard. His writings show that he had a fine gift in phrases! He resigned his position and quitted Basle in disgust.

He then resumed his wandering life accompanied by a few scholars attached to him by ties which misfortune could not break. He finally, in 1538, reached Villach, his home during much of his boyhood and the death-place of his father, for whom Paracelsus seems to have had a deep affection. Here he published his "*De Natura Rerum*." From Villach he was called to a comfortable position by the prince-bishop of Salzburg, but not to enjoy it long. He died in the hospital of St. Sebastian on Sept. 24th, 1541, only 48 years of age. The bishop gave him honourable burial and erected a monument to his memory.

Few historical characters have been more variously estimated than Paracelsus. This is due to two causes, (1) the manysidedness of the man, and (2) to the bitter hostility of the Galenist doctors, whose fees he threatened by his teaching and

practice. They charged him with attending the poor without fee ! But while he made bitter enemies, he also found many warm friends, as witness the correspondence with Erasmus, the disciples who shared the poverty of his later days, the monument to his memory, and the rapid succession of editions of his works. Erasmus sought his aid, and declares in an interesting correspondence, which has been preserved, "you brought me from death to life". He has been called the prince of quacks, but "the quack dies rich and respectable, and in four centuries is utterly forgotten." Paracelsus himself, in Book I of the *Archidoxies*, says : "Many teachers by following the ancient methods have acquired for themselves much wealth, credit and renown, though they didn't deserve it, but got together such great resources by simple lies." His manysidedness is very marked and makes him a puzzle—a riddle hard to solve. He was full of noble enthusiasms. His scientific insight was quick and keen, and his life shows that he had in an unusual degree the spirit of research. He was also endowed with the intuition which distinguishes the great diagnostic from the ordinary practitioner. The wonderful cures which he certainly wrought were due as much to these qualities as to the new and powerful medicines which his immense stores of information enabled him to use. His common sense revolted from the frightful messes of the Galenists and the Arabian polypharmacists. For these he substituted simpler medicines, and particularly recommended the active principles of drugs. He thus paved the way for the discovery and use of the alkaloids. His vivid imagination and philosophic insight raise his published works far above the level of the ordinary detailed description of facts and processes. There is nothing of the dryasdust about Paracelsus. But his imagination often carries him away. His flights of fancy sometimes degenerate into what an unsympathetic reader might call 'drawing the long bow.' His ambition was enormous, and his vanity was perhaps a very conspicuous quality. He is, however, not singular, in that age, in talking and writing a good deal about himself. "Puffing" as a modern art is not done in the first person, but the newspapers abound in it. The difference is that Paracelsus and his contemporaries said and wrote plainly what they thought of themselves, as of

everybody else. The great weakness of Paracelsus seems to have been his ungovernable impetuosity,—his lack of self-control. This led to those excesses which marred the influence of his great intellect, and which ultimately prevented him from taking the place for which nature had endowed him,—as the scientific leader of his age. In comparison with what he might have made it, his life must therefore be set down as a failure. But what a magnificent failure! He reformed medicine and originated a large part of the early practice and theory of chemistry; saw dimly the relation of the atmosphere to combustion and respiration; perceived the chemical nature of vital processes and thus laid the foundations of physiological chemistry; he originated the use of active principles of plants instead of the plants themselves; he showed that the idea of poisons is merely relative, and that by using small doses poisons may be employed as medicines; he showed that chemistry was an essential part of medical education; and he dominated the medical and chemical science not only of his own day but of several succeeding generations. In the words of Dr. Samuel Brown, "As strong-headed as Bacon, as inventive as Albrecht and Arnold, as indomitable as Sully, and as mighty an enthusiast as Basil Valentine, this man wanted the truthfulness of character which animated all his predecessors, and he fell." Sixty years after his death he is referred to by Shakespeare (*All's well that ends well*, Act II, scene 3,) his name being coupled with that of Galen, as if equally well known.

In order to prepare the mind for a short review of the works of Paracelsus, it will be well to get our perspective by a glance at the writings of a great contemporary, or perhaps more correctly, a predecessor, Basil Valentine. It will thus be easy to show that the peculiarities of style which characterise the works of Paracelsus belong to the period rather than to the man. Valentine wrote his *Triumphal Chariot of Antimony* when Paracelsus was a boy, but it was not printed till a century later. The title is suggestive of the mystical, fanciful treatment of the subject, which is evident when we open the book. The boastfulness and vanity which are charged against Paracelsus appear also in the pages of Valentine's work. But in,

spite of these blemishes, the book is a valuable treatise on the properties of antimony and its compounds, and of their medicinal value, most of it new matter, the result of Valentine's own experiments and observations. But he often breaks out into scorn and invective, wild flights of imagination, theological disquisitions, and recommendations of himself and his writings, which will parallel anything to be found in the works of Paracelsus, with whom he shares a supreme contempt for the regular medical practitioner of his day. "What more would you have, my lord doctor? What say you, O expert surgeon? If I were to put to you some searching questions respecting the nature and cure of external wounds, I should find that there is in you about as much knowledge as there is in the brain of a cock on the title-page of a child's spelling-book." "If any one be opposed to my opinions, he will find a crushing reply in this work."

Valentine's description of "spirits" shows an interesting commingling of the older use of the expression by the Stoics to indicate the vital breath of things with the later idea of aerial beings or ghosts. But there is also a reference to the "spirits" of drugs. It is evident, however, that in Valentine's day the word, even when used in this connection, carried with it the idea of existences somewhat of the order of fairies, but not so well defined in the imagination. "Now there are different kinds of spirits which are partly visible and yet cannot be touched as the natural body of a man can be touched. Such are especially those spirits which have fixed their domicile in the elements, spirits of fire, light,—the aerial spirits which dwell in the air; watery spirits in the water; terrestrial spirits or "earth men" in the earth, especially where there are rich veins of ore. These spirits have reason and sensation, are skilled in the different Arts, and can assume a variety of shapes Other spirits which cannot speak, nor exhibit themselves by their own power, are those which dwell in men and animals, in plants and minerals. They have an occult, operative life, and manifest themselves by the efficiency of their working; when separated from bodies by our Art they have a most marvellous sanative virtue." This last class of spirits are the essences, quintessences, and elixirs, extracted particularly by the

process of distillation, when the 'hot breath' or vapour often condensed into potent liquids. The works of both Valentine and Paracelsus are strongly tinged with such doctrines. With them the life in all things is no mere metaphor.

The works of Paracelsus have been translated into English from the Geneva folio Latin edition (1658) by A. W. Waite. It is from this translation that I quote. In the book on the *Economy of Minerals* are to be found many passages showing the philosophy held by Paracelsus regarding life in all things. "Elements die as men die, on account of the corruption in them. So water at its death, as it were, consumes and devours its own fruits [minerals], so does the earth its own fruits [plants]. Whatever is born from it returns to it again, is swallowed up and lost, just as the time past is swallowed up by yesterday's days and nights, the light or darkness of which we shall never see again. It is no weightier to-day than yesterday, not even by a single grain, and will after a thousand years be of the same weight still. As it gives forth, so in the same degree it consumes." Thus Paracelsus foreshadowed the doctrine of conservation of matter.

In a chapter on *the death of the tree of minerals* he gives us a fanciful but suggestive theory of the origin of mineral deposits by the action of water, imagining the ore bodies as the branches of a tree which has its roots in the water. "So then, the first matter of minerals consists of water ; and it comprises only Sulphur, Salt and Mercury [the three alchemical elements, according to Paracelsus.] These minerals are that elements spirit and soul, containing in themselves all minerals, metals, gems, salts, and other things of that kind, like different seeds in a bag. These being poured into water, nature then directs every seed to its peculiar and final fruit, incessantly disposing them according to their species and genera." Paracelsus had studied ore deposits and had their orderly arrangement to account for. His words seem like a metaphorical description of the modern theory of crystallization. The last sentence in this interesting chapter is characteristic. After referring to the clear vision of philosophers he bursts out with "But that Greek Satan has sown in the philosophic field of true wisdom tares and his own false seed, to wit, Aristoteles,

Albertus, Avicenna, Rhasis, and that kind of men, enemies of the light of God and of nature, who have perverted the whole of physical science, since the time when they transmuted the name of Sophia into Philosophy."

For Paracelsus everything was alive, minerals as well as plants and animals; all had their body, soul and spirit, typified as the elements Sulphur, Salt and Mercury, of which all minerals and metals are composed, 'mysteriously comprehended in universal nature.' "Consider, I beseech you, this tiny grain of seed, black or brown in colour, out of which grows a vast tree, producing such wonderful greenness in its leaves, such variegated colours in its flowers, and flavours in its fruits of such infinite variety; see this repeated by nature in all her products, and you will find her so marvellous, so rich, in her mysteries, that you will have enough to last you all your life in this book of nature without referring to paper books. If God then shows Himself to our discernment in nature so powerful and so wise, how much more glorious will He reveal Himself by His Holy Spirit to our mind, if we only seek Him. This is the way of safety which leads from below to above. This is to walk in the ways of the Lord, to be occupied in admiring His works, and to carry out His will, so far as in us, or as it should and can be in us. This has been my Academia, not Athens, Paris, or Toulouse. After I had read many deceitful books of wise men, I betook myself to this one alone, from which I learnt all that I write, which also I know to be true. Still, I confess, there are many more things which I do not know, but which will surge up to the surface in God's own time." "I would admonish my readers to put aside for awhile the mere dreams and opinions of others who romance about these things, until they see that they are only philosophers on paper, not in nature, who have been taught by men like themselves, and with the same amount of learning, *to think by rote and not by experience.*"*

The chapters on brine, salt, saltpetre and vitriol, when divested of mysticism, show a close acquaintance with these substances. His test for blue vitriol is one in use at this day,

*The italics are mine.

viz., its power of depositing copper upon a piece of iron. Paracelsus interprets this as the transmutation of iron into copper. "There is a fountain in Hungary, or rather a torrent, which derives its origin from vitriol, nay, its whole substance is vitriol, and any iron thrown into it is at once consumed and turned to rust, while this rust is immediately reduced to the best and most permanent copper by means of fire and bellows." This is a description of a process now in use for recovering copper from the drainage of copper mines and waste heaps.

He winds up his chapter on the sulphur of minerals with the remark, "Sulphur demands a very expert operator, not a mere boaster or charlatan." These latter are the words applied to himself by so many of his biographers !

These extracts show principally one side of Paracelsus,—the devout, ardent, patient student of nature. In his short tract on the *Composition of Metals* he reveals another and less attractive side. He describes *electrum* an impossible alloy of the seven metals, viz., gold, silver, iron, copper, mercury, tin and lead, made carefully at the conjunctions of the various planets ; and, in discussing its virtues, writes as follows :— "There still remain in our age many necklaces and ornaments, such as rings, bracelets, remarkable coins, seals, figures, bells, shekels, made out of this, which of old were hidden in the earth. When they were dug up nobody, or very few, understood them, and in their ignorance they gilded them over, or tinged them with silver. It will be safest to pass over these matters in silence. Not, however, that we can altogether pass unnoticed certain stupendous effects of our electrum ; since they came under our own eyes we shall be able to speak the more freely concerning them, without any suspicion that we are romancing or making up a story. We have seen rings, for instance, which removed all fear of paralysis or spasm from those who wore them on their fingers. If an epileptic patient put such a ring on the third finger, even although he be so overcome with the violence of the paroxysm as to be prostrated on the ground, he comes to himself and gets up. Here, too, should be added something which we do not give from the report of others, for the same we have seen with our own eyes and know by experience. If the above mentioned ring be worn

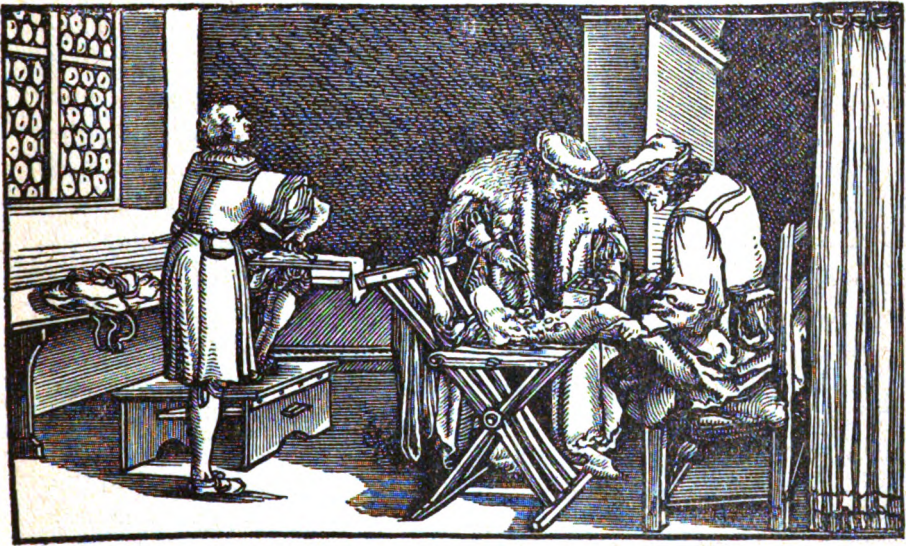
on the third finger by a man in whom any ailment is latent and growing, so that it would presently break forth in an eruption, the ring would forthwith give an indication by breaking out in a sweat and, as if seized with a sudden sympathy, would put forth spots and become depraved in appearance."

He now becomes enamoured of his subject and adds a romance about a miraculous bell he saw in Spain, which its owner used to summon spirits and spectres, which Paracelsus asserts he saw him do many times. He has no doubt this bell was made of the marvellous electrum.* But to illustrate the subtlety of things and convince us that he is not romancing, this wonderful man refers to the now well-known fact that if gold or silver be suspended over mercury without touching it, the vapour of the mercury will at length amalgamate the precious metals and render them brittle. He concludes with a warning which is worth repeating: "It will now be for you to keep this great secret [of electrum] and mystery of Nature, and to take care that it does not fall into the hands of my adversaries; since it would be an indignity for them to get to know it. A pearl or a precious stone will not please a goose, because a goose does not know its price or value. It would infinitely prefer a turnip. We may fitly say the same of the Sophists."

In his book *Concerning the Nature of Things* he describes many interesting operations with which he must have been familiar. For example, the dissolving of gold by *aqua regis*. He notes the white residue (of silver chloride), and describes the crystallization of the chloride of gold under the figure of the growth of a tree. "You see the Sol rise in the glass and grow in the form of a tree with many branches and leaves." A flint taken out of river water may be made to grow by putting it in a cucurbite, covering it with 'its own water', distilling until dry, and repeating the operation until the stone fills the cucurbite. 'In this way, by means of Alchemy, in a few days you will see that a very large stone can be made, such as the Archeus of the waters could scarcely make in many years. . . .

*In another place Paracelsus tells us solemnly that he knew of a man who was nourished for years by a clod of earth placed upon his stomach and replaced by another as soon as it wasted away. One wonders if he did not say and write these things with his tongue in his cheek!

Though this may be of no profit to you, still it is a very wonderful thing." He further shows his practical acquaintance with chemistry by writing of 'the enemies of metals', such as aqua fortis, aqua regis, sulphur, antimony, 'which spoils all metals with which it is liquefied in the fire,' quicksilver, which 'makes all metals immalleable and fragile'; but he often throws in things which are inaccurate, as, for example, where he states that mercury will make a steel rod as brittle as glass. In spite of such blemishes one cannot read these chapters without being convinced that they were written by a man with a wide first-hand acquaintance with the chemistry of his day.



A GERMAN SURGEON

From Wood Engraving Attributed to Holbein.

His knowledge and skill as a medical man may also be inferred. He begins his treatise on medicine (The Archidoxies of Theo. Par.) with a book on 'The Mystery of Microcosm.' "We have wished to elaborate and write this memorial work of ours, that we might arrive at a more complete and happier *method of practice*, since there are presented to us those mysteries of nature which are too wonderful to be even thoroughly investigated." "And let no one wonder at the school of our learning. Though it be contrary to the courses and methods of the

ancients, still it is firmly based on experience, which is mistress of all things, and by which all art should be proved." The critics of Paracelsus have made a great deal of his search for the *elixir vitæ*, but his writings show clearly that his idea was to find powerful medicines which should *conserve* the bodily strength and *prolong* life. "Nor let us think that we must die on some day sooner or later, or that it is derogatory that a Christian should believe it possible to prolong life by medicaments created by God for that purpose."—(*A Book Concerning Long Life*). "We should know that to keep the body in health just as many things have grown up as for taking away health. We can, by our daily food and drink, at one time injure our bodies, at another benefit them and keep them in health, according to our use or abuse of these things." His ideas of the preservation of health and the prolongation of life are then just those of a sagacious modern physician. But there is this difference. Paracelsus is very near to the childhood of the race with its beliefs in spiritual existence in all things, in incantations, sorceries and untold marvels. His lively imagination and his gift of romance carry him far beyond the point at which a modern physician would stop. And yet his discussion of diseases due to our own imaginings and the imaginations of others working on ours comes very near our latter day beliefs about the influence of the mind on disease, hypnotism, &c., &c. But even when he enumerates and describes the medicinal substances with which he is acquainted, he plays to the gallery by throwing in references to *nenuphar*, *apostolic powders*, *oil of crystal*, *oil of beryl*, *stone of the philosophers*, and other occult things. It must be acknowledged, however, that most of these things are mentioned by Paracelsus as belonging to the Spagyric (or Alchemical) Art.

I am not able to judge the philosophy of Paracelsus, but it certainly is not the poor creature described by some of his biographers. No one can rise from a perusal of his works without a great respect for his originality, his quick perception, and his gift of expression. He was well acquainted with many of the philosophic ideas handed down from Greece and Rome. His philosophy of nature is based on the four elements, earth, air, fire and water, the material representatives of which he ex-

tracts from all kinds of natural objects by processes of distillation, &c., which he had evidently carried out himself. He describes in a perfectly clear manner the fallacious experiment of converting water into earth. To explain how such a great variety of objects and substances could originate from so few elements he writes, "In this respect nature may be compared



DISTILLING APPARATUS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

After an Engraving by Vriese.

to a painter, who from some few colours paints an infinite number of pictures, no one exactly like another." This sentence illustrates the three qualities of the mind of Paracelsus which I have just mentioned, and surely such a mind as this deserves a better fate than to be remembered in connection with the word "bombastic." Browning has given him fairer treatment, but I almost begin to doubt if even he has done him complete justice. He makes him say :

"Suppose my labour should seem God's own cause
 "Once more as first I dreamed,—it shall not balk me
 "Of the meanest earthliest sensualest delight
 "That may be snatched ; for every joy is gain,
 "And gain is gain, however small. My soul
 "Can die then, nor be taunted—'What was gained ?"

But he does not fail to continue

"Nor, on the other hand, should pleasure follow
 As though I had not spurned her hitherto,
 Shall she o'ercloud my spirit's rapt communion
 With the tumultuous past, the teeming future,
 Glorious with visions of a full success."

But the last words Browning puts into the mouth of our hero satisfy me :

"As yet men cannot do without contempt ;
It's for their good, and therefore fit awhile
That they reject the weak and scorn the false,
Rather than praise the strong and true, in me :
But after they will know me. If I stoop
Into a dark tremendous sea of cloud,
It is but for a time ; I press God's lamp
Close to my breast ; its splendour soon or late
Will pierce the gloom ; I shall emerge one day,"

W. L. GOODWIN.

THE SKIN IN HEALTH.

FEW people have any idea of the extent to which the skin controls the general health. A few facts, however, will make this clear.

Roughly speaking, it may be said that two great processes are going on in the human body all the time. In the first place, food is being taken in and worked up into flesh and blood. In the second place, minute portions of these tissues are dying all the time, and this dead waste must be carried to certain organs and thrust out of the body. If we stop eating, we may live a few days ; if we stop waste-removal, we cannot live ten minutes. The two processes are fundamental ; and the prompt removal of waste is imperative.

SWEAT.

There are probably about three-quarters of a million of sweat glands in the human skin. The quantity of sweat given off from them daily is very great. It has been approximately estimated as varying between one and four pints. An exact determination of the amount is a matter of great difficulty, because it varies from time to time with the kind of food, the quantity of fluid drunk, the temperature of the air, the season of the year, and the activity of other organs. About one-third of an ounce of the daily output of sweat is solid matter, the rest being of course water.

With the watery part of sweat we are not at present particularly concerned. It dries up, leaving behind it, on the surface of the skin, the waste solid already referred to. Where does this solid come from ? In answer, it may be said that the sweat glands obtain it from the blood ; the blood obtains it from the tissues ; and the tissues produce it every moment we live, and in the very act of living. Living tissue and dead waste exist side by side ; the death struggle is immanent in every atom of our bodies. This waste, then, is in part carried to the sweat glands and passed out through the pores of the skin. Surely we have here a sufficient reason why we should frequently change our underclothing and patronize the daily bath.

TWO COATS.

But the exudation of sweat is not the only reason for the daily bath. Part of the skin itself is dying all the time, namely, the outer coat. As everyone knows, the skin consists of two coats, an outer one, known as the scarf skin or epidermis, and an inner one, or true skin. The boundary between these two is seen when a blister forms. The two are then separated by the serum of the blister. The outer one resembles hair and nails in that it keeps growing outwards all the time. The innermost of its four layers, (see figure three) that is the layer next to the true skin, is living sentient tissue. It is formed at the point of contact with the true skin. Line after line of these layers move slowly and imperceptibly towards the surface. As they move outwards by the pressure of the underlying layers, their characters change. At first large and spherical, filled with water, granular and transparent, they become, near the surface, opaque, horny, scale-like, dead. Whether the outer layers of the scarf skin accumulate at the surface, giving thickness and insensibility to the skin, or whether they are removed by bathing and friction, depends upon the habits and tastes of the individual. In any case, it is safe to say that their continuous decay and removal is a most important factor in the maintenance of general health. In short, the epidermis is itself an excretion, and this fact furnishes an additional reason why we should bathe the body frequently, and frequently change the under-clothing.

THE TRUE SKIN.

Beneath the scarf skin lies the dermis or true skin. If we speak of the epidermis as transient, because its moving layers form mysteriously beneath and disappear insensibly at the surface, we may fitly speak of the true skin as permanent. It consists of muscle fibres, nerve fibres, blood capillaries, and sweat glands, all tied together by a network of connective tissue. The more essential of these are the blood vessels and nerve fibres. The former carry the repair material to the skin; the latter either control the blood supply or give to the skin its sense of pain, and its peculiar sensitiveness to touch.

BLOOD SUPPLY.

Every observant person knows that at one time the skin may have very much more blood in it than at another time. When we are overheated the skin is flushed with blood. This condition is brought about by the minute arteries enlarging their calibre under the influence of the nervous system. As a consequence of this increase in bore, more blood is allowed to pass to the surface. The skin then takes on a reddish or pink colour. On the other hand, when the skin is cooled down through the action of cold air or cold water, the skin becomes whitish or pale in colour. This condition is brought about by the nervous system constricting the calibre or bore of the skin arteries, and as a consequence, comparatively little blood is allowed to pass to the surface. In a state of perfect health this increase and decrease of blood flow is accompanied by a corresponding increase and decrease in the quantity of sweat. In short, the health of the skin itself and the action of the sweat glands alike depend upon the blood supply. Poor circulation to the skin or to any other organ means sluggishness, inactivity, and finally disease; whereas, a full and rapid circulation means health and strength.

The reason of this is easily seen. The blood is the great carrier of waste and repair. The nutritive material which is derived from the food is carried in the blood to every part of the body. At the same time that it is thus distributing repair material, the blood is gathering up waste and carrying it to the organs of excretion. Anything, therefore, which will improve the circulation to an organ must necessarily improve its action. It matters not what the organ is, whether it be the stomach, brain, skin, or body musculature, the rule is the same, a greater blood supply is accompanied by greater functional activity, and a less blood supply by diminished functional activity.

BATHING.

In order, therefore, to preserve the skin in a normal healthy condition, we must act in conformity with the physiological conclusions indicated above. We should use the best soap and a plentiful supply of warm water. Vapour baths are even more effective than warm water in removing the dead portions

of scarf skin. Brisk friction with tufa, a flesh-brush, or a coarse linen mitten is essential. The *external* effects of such bathing is two-fold. It removes the dead and decaying epidermis, and it opens the pores of the sweat glands and sebaceous glands, which otherwise are liable to become clogged up.

But there are *internal* effects from warm baths which are quite as important as the external ones. The circulation of the blood through the capillaries of the skin is profoundly affected, especially if the water be as hot as 102° to 110°. Baths at these temperatures heat the body, increase the heart beat, quicken the breathing, flush the skin capillaries with blood, and cause profuse perspiration. They tend to promote the health of the skin chiefly through improving the circulation.

Strange to say, some of the effects of a quick cold bath are precisely similar to those of a hot one. In water between 50° and 60°, both heart-beat and respiration are markedly increased. There is also a feeling of warmth, of nervous excitement, and of increased muscular power. But the duration of a cold bath should be brief, because the lowered body temperature resulting from the loss of heat may prove exceedingly depressing. The most marked difference between the immediate effects of a cold bath and a hot one is this, in the former the blood capillaries become constricted, blood is kept away from the skin, and perspiration is probably stopped altogether; whereas in hot baths the effects are exactly the opposite.

On coming out of cold water the skin should be rubbed vigorously with a rough towel. This assists in bringing about the stimulating reaction which naturally comes on after a cold bath. The blood, at first driven away from the surface by the cold, returns to the skin in larger quantities than before. Thus the circulation in the skin is stimulated both by cold and by hot baths—in the former the stimulation occurs after coming out of the cold water; in the latter, while we are in the water.

In all this, it must be remembered that bathing acts solely through the application or abstraction of heat. No water, according to the large majority of observers, is ever absorbed through the skin, and the so-called medicated baths are effective only by stimulating the skin, and not through being absorbed into the system.

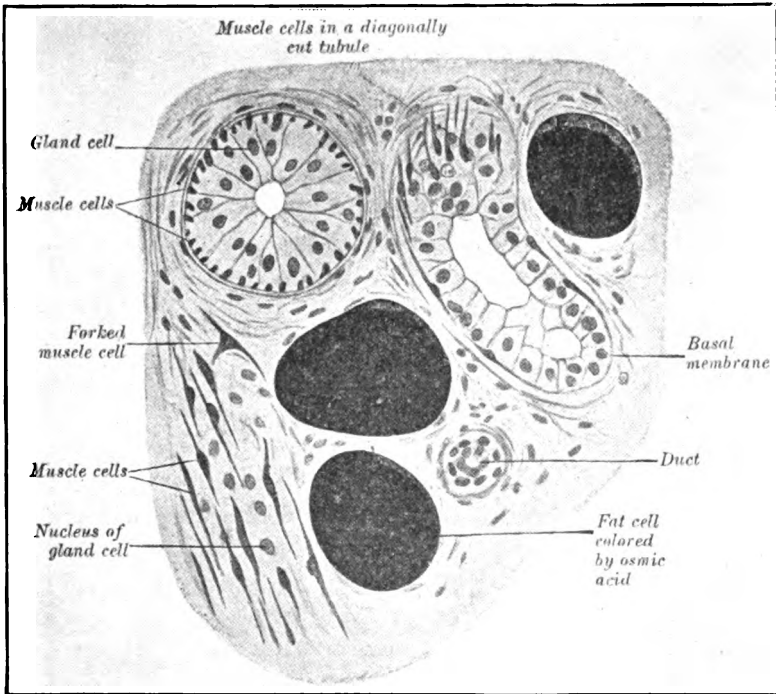


FIG. 1.—Highly magnified (350 times) section of sweat gland of a human finger. At the upper part of the figure two portions of a coil are shown. The gland cells manufacture the sweat out of material brought to them by the blood. The duct is the fine tube which conveys the sweat to the surface of the skin. It passes towards the surface spirally.

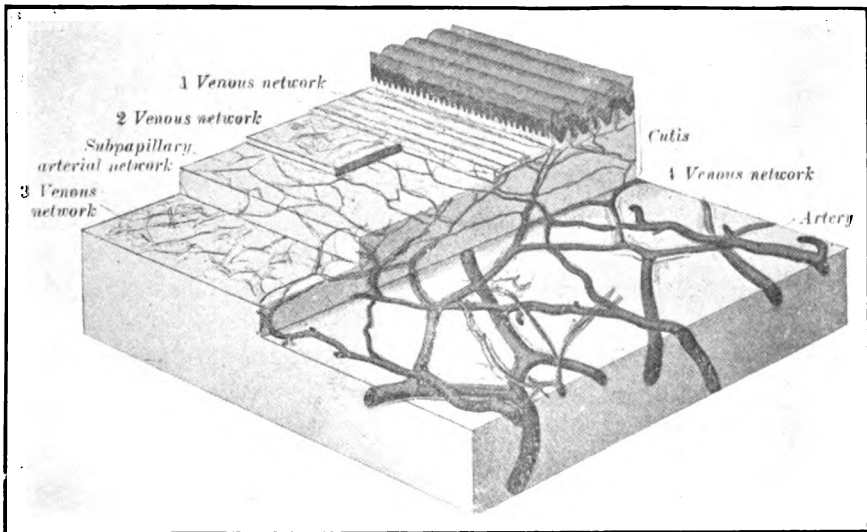


FIG. 2.—Shows the blood supply to the skin (cutis) and to parts immediately under the skin. The scarf skin or epidermis contains no blood vessels.

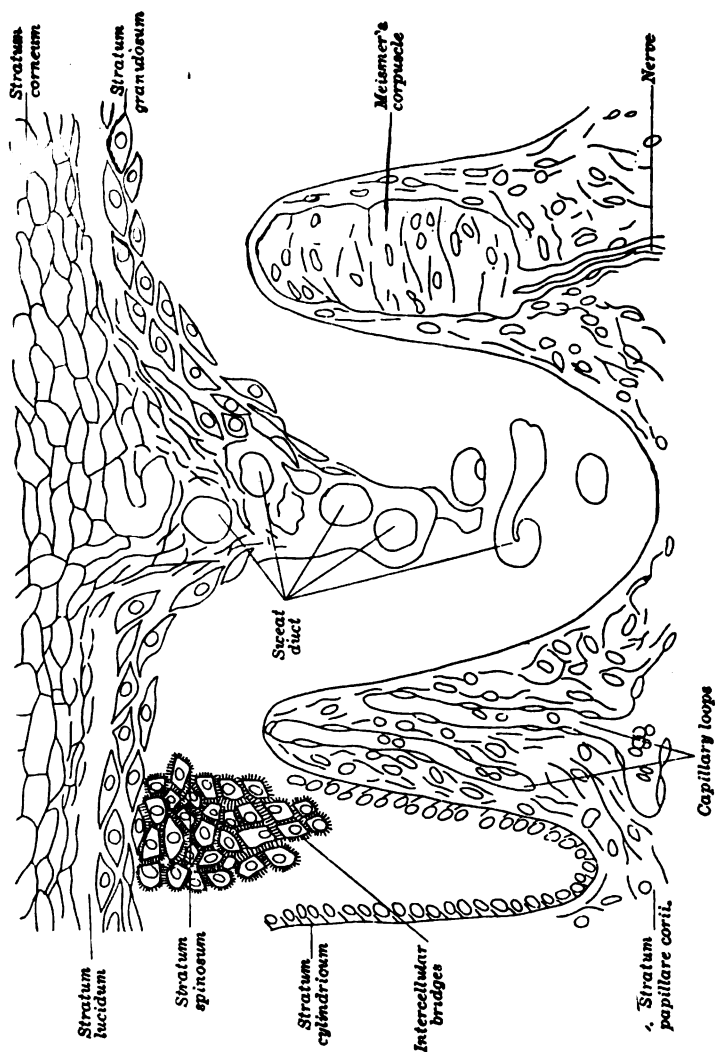


FIG. 3.—Showing fine layers of cells (corneum, lucidum, granulosum, spinosum, and cylindricum) in the epidermis. It is difficult to see how any liquid can pass through these closely packed layers. Nerve fibres end in Meissner's corpuscles, giving sensitivity of the skin.

MEDICINES AND MASSAGE.

Now if stimulation of the blood circulation be the chief object in maintaining the skin in a healthy condition, the question arises whether the circulation may not be whipped up in some other way than by hot and cold baths. Will not some medicines achieve the same end? In answer, it may be said that some medicines taken internally will do so; but it must be remembered that every medicine, sooner or later, loses its effect, and ultimately does more harm than good. Hence, medicines of the type of alcohol that stimulates the circulation should be avoided, excepting under very unusual circumstances and for a very brief period.

Is there any way in which the circulation may be stimulated without doing more harm than good? Yes, massage will. Passive exercise, kneading, skin-friction, manipulation,—call it what you will, these vastly improve the circulation, and help to keep the skin in a healthy condition long beyond the period at which it usually becomes sallow and wrinkled. But its practice requires skill and great perseverance.

POMADES AND OILS.

Is there any place for pomades or ointment in preserving the skin and maintaining a beautiful complexion? It is exceedingly doubtful. The rubbing required to distribute them over the face and hands is undoubtedly beneficial. But this is massage. None of the so-called “skin beautifiers”, “skin foods” or “skin tonics” are in themselves of the slightest use in improving a poor complexion. How can they feed the skin? There is only one known way of feeding any organ, and that one way is through the medium of the blood. These “skin foods” never enter the blood. Only a very few of the harsher—not to say more poisonous—medicines are absorbed, and then in very minute quantities. Here is the opinion of an expert on the question of absorption. “To decide the case for or against the *possibility* of absorption by the human skin would appear a simple problem, yet a literature reaching back over a century indicates that the production of unimpeachable testimony on either side has proved a matter of no little difficulty.” There is no scientific authority for the belief that the skin may

be fed or toned up by rubbing pomades or ointments into it. Of course, after washing with any common alkaline soap, a drop or two of oil may be useful in removing the harsh and disagreeable feeling which such soaps always produce ; but, as a rule, the oil glands of the skin furnish all the oil that is necessary for the health of the skin.

To sum up. Hot and cold baths and face massage, when skilfully done, will quicken the circulation, and consequently tend to remove pimples, improve a bad complexion and keep away wrinkles ; but face ointments are an abomination, on a level with "hair tonics" and "hair restorers". All these are the gold mines of the quack, the despair of the expert physician, and the unswerving belief of the ignorant and ill-informed.

A. P. KNIGHT.

SOME ASPECTS OF MR. YEATS' LYRIC POETRY.

WM. BUTLER YEATS, the most distinguished Irish representative of what has been called the Anglo-Celtic movement in contemporary English literature, is now in his forty-first year. He has passed Dr. Osler's grand climacteric, and should therefore by this time have made clear to the world his peculiar message, if message he have. And yet working in a medium where Dr. Osler's chloroforming process is less called for, he has still time enough to correct, clarify, heighten, and intensify this message until it attain to something like prophetic strain. It is not, therefore, an inappropriate time to attempt some partial anticipation of the verdict of posterity on Mr. Yeats' poems. The earliest of these were contributed at the age of nineteen to the Dublin University Review. In these early poems there was, of course, more of fantasy than of imagination. The omission of many of them from the later collections shows how the poet himself judged them, and this severity with himself argues well for the quality of his future work. In all, however, the lyric note was very noticeable, the ear, the singing voice, the beauty and simplicity of the music, the felicity of the language. Some struck the poet's ultimate and finished note. For example, take the lovely "Lake of Innisfree" the poem which tells of the longing of one who finds himself upon the busy highways or on the pavements gray, for rural peace and for the sights and sounds and solitudes of the country:

I will arise and go now and go to Innisfree,
And a small cabin build there, of clay and wattles made ;
Nine bean rows will I have there, a hive for the honey bee,
And live alone in the bee-loud glade.

And I shall have some peace there, for peace comes dropping slow
Dropping from the veils of the morning, to where the cricket sings ;
There midnight's all a glimmer and noon a purple glow,
And evening full of the linnet's wings.

I will arise and go now, for always night and day
I hear lake water lapping with low sounds by the shore ;
While I stand on the roadway, or on the pavements gray,
I hear it in the deep heart's core.

Wordsworth is the greatest master in this style as he was the first, and his "Reverie of Poor Susan" perhaps the supreme example. Of course Yeats' poem has not the intensity of "The Reverie of Poor Susan," which is another way of saying that Yeats has not succeeded so well as Wordsworth in presenting the love of nature as an imperious impulse stronger than urban attractions, triumphant also over the harsher aspects of rural life.

A more characteristic example of Yeats' nature lyrics, exquisite in its simplicity as is undoubtedly "The Lake of Innisfree" is "In The Twilight."

Outworn heart in a time outworn
 Come clear of the nets of wrong and right ;
 Laugh heart again in the gray twilight,
 Sigh heart again in the dew of the morn.
 Your mother Erie is always young,
 Dew ever shining and twilight grey ;
 Though hope fall from you and love decay
 Burning in fires of a slanderous tongue.
 Come heart where hill is heaped upon hill
 For there the mystical brotherhood
 Of sun and moon and hollow and wood
 And river and stream work out their will ;
 And God stands winding His lonely horn
 And time and the world are ever in flight ;
 And love is less kind than than the grey twilight
 And hope is less dear than the dew of the morn.

This is a more complex expression of Yeats' philosophy of life and nature, Morality is an affair of small prudences, petty restrictions that tend to smother the soul. The soul must come clear of the nets of wrong and right, of the casuistry of virtue and vice and on the wings of intense and lofty passion or in meditation or trance escape from the finite and limited into the world of the eternal and absolute. Love is only a deceptive show of passion. It is of time, dependent on fading beauty and passing powers, subject to every slanderous tongue. Nature only can satisfy the longings of the spirit. There haunt mysterious presences, even God himself seems to speak to us strange sweet revelations of our origin and destiny.

Yeats' love lyrics are like no others in English literature. One would judge that he had little power of interpreting this

passion. "Down By the Salley Gardens" is one of the simplest of the poems of this class.

Down by the salley gardens my love and I did meet ;
 She passed the salley gardens with little snow-white feet,
 She bid me take life easy as the leaves grow on the tree,
 But I being young and foolish with her did not agree.

In a field by the river my love and I did stand,
 And on my leaning shoulder she laid her snow-white hand
 She bid me take love easy as the grass grows on the weirs,
 But I was young and foolish and now am full of tears.

A touch of pastoral conventionalism, "snow-white feet", "snow-white hand", yet finely and simply treated. An old man is sighing for his lost love. Two scenes in the love making of other days rise in his memory. He longs for the witchery and romance of the past. In his protest against the tyranny of time, change and death, he fails to see that while he remembers, what is most universal in his love endures. On the other hand, how briefly yet how clearly Yeats has marked the difference between the impulsive and over-reaching ardor of the man and the greater inwardness of woman who would husband out love's taper to the close and keep the flame from wasting by repose. But the love poems are rarely so simply pathetic. For example, "Aedh tells of the Rose in the Heart" was possibly a simple love story in its first intention, but it soon passed into a complaint of the idealist against the jangling discords of life and his yearning for a possible harmony in which they will be merged.

All things uncomely and broken, all things worn out and old,
 The cry of a child by the roadway, the creak of a lumbering cart,
 The heavy steps of the ploughman splashing the wintry mould,
 Are wronging your image that blossoms a rose in the deeps of my heart.
 The wrong of unshapely things is a wrong too great to be told ;
 I hunger to build them anew and sit on a green knoll apart,
 With the earth and the sky and the water remade like a casket of gold
 For my dream of your image that blossoms a rose in the deeps of my heart.

The woman whom the lover addresses has ceased to be a vital element in man's life here and now, "a creature not too bright or good for human nature's daily food", and has become a vision—a symbol of all beauty—and his love for her, transcending the love of the individual, becomes the love of "eternal beauty wandering by the way" and for the moment

revealing itself in woman's form and face and the lovely wilfulness and caprice of woman's moods.

This brings us to another (yet closely related) aspect of Yeats' work—the artist's quest for beauty. At times the poet finds this beauty gleaming everywhere from the human face, old romance, the passing and perishable things of a day, as in "The Rose Upon the Rood of Time."

Red Rose, proud Rose, sad Rose of all my days!
Come near me while I sing the ancient ways:
Cuhoolin battling with the bitter tide
The Druid gray, wood-nurtured, quiet-eyed,
Who cast round Fergus dreams and ruin untold,
And thine own sadness whereof stars grown old
In dancing silver-sandalled on the sea,
Sing in their high and lonely melody.
Come near, that no more blinded by man's fate,
I find under the boughs of love and hate,
In all poor foolish things that live a day
Eternal beauty wandering by the way.

Sometimes again this beauty is an impossible beauty that ever eludes us, that hides beneath the boughs of love and hate and cannot be distinctly seen while we remain blinded by man's fate. To the expression of this longing for an unattainable perfection, the forms and method of love poetry lend themselves with peculiar felicity:

Glimmering girl
With apple blossoms in her hair
Who called me by my name and ran
And faded through the brightening air,
Though I am old with wandering
Through hollow lands and hilly lands,
I will find out where she has gone
And kiss her lips and take her hands,
And walk among long dappled grass
And pluck till time and times are done
The silver apples of the moon
And golden apples of the sun.

It is thought by some that Mr. Yeats has no great force of imagination, that his effects are such as anyone with a pinch of originality might produce with the traditions of English poetry behind him, and that his prominence in the public eye is owing to his connection with the Anglo-Celtic movement. It may be admitted that the English poetic tradition is a very

powerful help to the aspiring poet who is pretty sure of some effect by following in the line of the great masters employing their forms of verse, their artistic methods and choosing the kinds of subjects they treated. It is not so clear that Yeats' conscious connection with the Celtic renaissance has helped him more than it has hindered. It seems to have augmented his mysticism on the one hand, and his antagonism to England on the other. It is probably responsible, also, for an exaggerated hatred of modern civilization and an equally exaggerated estimate of the worth of popular poetry. Nevertheless, there seems to me to be a strain in those poems both new and sweet, not merely imitative or derivative, not the catchwords of a movement largely artificial and affected, but with abundant power to comfort and sustain, a blessed relief when the rest of our contemporary singers are so enamoured of the tumult of war and the din of labour, and

Their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw.

J. MARSHALL.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF ONTARIO RURAL SCHOOLS.

THE accession of a government led by a premier who had challenged, while in opposition, the entire course of educational management, suggests that the people have given a mandate, inarticulate perhaps as to details, but peremptory as to the main fact, for a general inquest into our school system.

Apparently the government has so interpreted the popular verdict, since it has already taken action respecting our highest seat of learning. In seeking first to relieve the financial stress and improve the administrative efficiency of the Provincial University the government has acted in harmony with the true historic order of educational progress and in apparent recognition of the dependence of elementary schools on the higher institutions of learning. Some may be disposed to question this enthusiasm for higher education as born out of due season while yet the elementary schools, the schools of the ninety-five per cent., remain untouched. But the insight of the careful legislator and the expert knowledge of the educationist will suggest that the true place of the university is at the base of the educational pyramid. The progress of the individual is from the kindergarten to the university, the growth of the state from the university to the kindergarten. In improvement of our school system the man in the street always tends to reverse the natural order, and his inverted view has sometimes seriously hindered the elevation of our common schools. Perhaps Ontario has not had too much democracy, but we have surely had too much of the impotence and futility of democratic control in the management of elementary education. Bismarck declared that he would build up a nation on the German universities, and in the last analysis it is possible for a system of common schools to live and improve only under some vital contact with the life and thought of the higher seats of learning. To place the universities in an aggressive position and establish this contact is perhaps the highest service that the state can render to elementary education. As a condition to giving our rural schools a better educational outlook in the most direct and

effective way, they must first be brought under a better system of management and maintenance.

SCHOOL SECTIONS A PIONEER SURVIVAL.

Though the greater part of our population has long since emerged from pioneer conditions the rural schools are still subject to the pioneer system of management and maintenance. The school section, in some cases financially strong, in others pitifully weak, is still virtually the unit of school support and control. The school section in Ontario owes its origin to the first common school act passed by the legislature of Upper Canada in 1816. Although geographical bounds were not prescribed at this time, the nucleus of many school sections was formed by establishing common schools under local boards of trustees in places where at least twenty pupils could be brought together. The Act of 1816 provided for the important principle of an over-board, a district board to which each local board reported and which discharged some important functions, including supervision of the appointment and removal of teachers. From the diverse social and natural conditions of the early settlements it is apparent that very unequal conditions as to the efficiency of schools must arise, and it should not be surprising that the sectional system, perpetuated without much modification of principle through a period of ninety years, has afforded many instances of inefficiency, weakness or retrogression if also some worthy illustrations of local progress and capability. Thus we find to-day, in all parts of the province, some sections with a taxable property of less than ten thousand dollars, while in others it is over two hundred thousand dollars; and between these extremes there are many grades of weak and strong sections. Some sections are compelled to pay out of their poverty a rate of two cents on the dollar to provide a miserable modicum of schooling in a poor building with little or no equipment. Other sections out of their abundance can maintain a school of admirable standard on a rate of two or three mills. In one section the children are condemned to the discomfort and unhealthfulness of bad accommodation and the blight of comparative ignorance, while, perhaps, in a neighbouring section the opposite conditions are enjoyed.

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

In admission of the palpable injustice resulting from financial inequality of school sections, the Ontario legislature enacted some years ago that a uniform township grant be paid to every rural school section employing a teacher. A small special grant is also paid more or less regularly to the weakest sections of some counties. While these measures have tended to palliate the bad symptoms they have not cured the disorder, and the marked disadvantages under which many schools rest are still too plainly in evidence on all sides. Yet one of the fundamental assumptions of our system is that all children have an equal right to a good elementary education. Equality of opportunity for every child was Egerton Ryerson's great battle-cry in his struggle for free elementary schools ; but equality of opportunity is not fairly attainable while the present unequal school sections are the main basis of school support. To continue this system is simply to commit thousands of Ontario children through no fault of their own to the mire of ignorance and disability. As a matter of plain justice to these children, as a matter of fidelity to the principles on which the Ontario school system is founded, as a matter of democratic decency and human rights, there is abundant need for a change in the mode of maintaining our rural schools.

NEED OF LARGER GOVERNMENT GRANTS.

Speaking broadly there are at present three sources of revenue for rural schools—the government grant, the township grant, and the sum raised by levy on the school section or lands supporting the particular school. In the case of separate schools, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, no township grant is available. In all cases the government grant is the least, and it has been steadily diminishing until it now scarcely amounts to twenty-five dollars per school on the average. The sum raised by levy on the lands supporting the school is usually the chief source of support. It is clear that an equitable system of maintaining common schools would require a reversal of these conditions. The provincial government now goes a long way toward supporting university education. It would be at least equally just, were it practicable, to aid the common

schools in like degree. In any event a continuance of the present pittance of government aid to rural schools could hardly be referred to as an appreciation of a long outstanding public need. At present the government grant is turned into the general fund of the school section, and, except in the case of the weak sections, it exercises no perceptible stimulus for good. This is largely due to the fact that this grant is distributed on a basis almost entirely irrelevant to educational merits or needs. If the grant could not be very materially increased it would seem desirable to entirely withdraw it as a general grant and apportion it from year to year in larger sums for specific meritorious steps which might advantageously vary from section to section or from time to time, according to the judgment of the inspector.

If, however, the Succession duties are to be drawn upon, as seems reasonable, for university support, it will appear equally logical to divert part of this revenue to the common schools. Mr. Whitney has already taken the ground that education is a public charity. It is indeed a constructive or preventive charity, an ethical force which as it improves in standard and becomes diffused must relatively reduce the need for asylums and jails and houses of industry. Our system of popular education, and particularly rural education, may justly be made a charge on the revenues from Dominion Subsidy, Succession Duties, Crown Lands, Mining Taxes or any source of revenue whatever from Old or New Ontario, since there is not a single end of good government that will not be promoted by an efficient system of education. The development of New Ontario has drawn freely on the resources of our government. We should not forget the importance of the other new Ontario that is being developed in all the older parts of our province. Are not the possibilities that are wrapped up in the children of Ontario the greatest resource, in every sense of the term, of which a state could boast?

While it is not to be expected that the Province could undertake to entirely support elementary education, an awakened legislature may appropriately devote larger grants to the rural schools, and may likewise enact legislation for equalizing the burden of school taxation. Perhaps the most equitable ar-

rangement would be a uniform rate over the whole county to provide for the essential needs of all the common schools of the county. Since the County Council is the highest and most eligible body it seems anomalous that it should not have been given long ago a large constructive responsibility, directly or indirectly, in relation to the highest interest of the county—the schools.

A COUNTY BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Such a step would involve the creation of a County Board of Trustees charged with the duty of maintaining in every school within its jurisdiction all the conditions of teaching efficiency, accommodation and sanitation required by the School Law and Regulations. For the performance of certain auxiliary functions it would probably be advisable to retain also the principle of local boards of trustees, though with materially reduced powers in some respects.

At present it seems absurd to refer to our rural schools as a system, isolated as they are from one another and greatly diversified in nearly every important factor affecting the quality of the education at which they aim. They are taught by at least five grades of teachers, holding variously First Class, Second Class, Third Class, District or Temporary Certificates, the lower standards greatly predominating. In many schools the teachers change every six months, in comparatively few they hold their positions for several years at a time. In some sections the condition of barrenness is due solely to poverty of spirit, in others poverty of pocket is the primary cause.

In what state would the public schools of our cities be to-day if they were still managed and maintained in small sections? Advantages have manifestly accrued from having one board for all the public schools of the cities and towns. Is it not reasonable to anticipate equally good results from placing the general welfare of rural schools under a County Board of Trustees? The outstanding difference is mainly one of area, but distance is to-day a negligible factor compared with its importance thirty years ago. The railway, the post office, the telephone and improved roads have brought all parts of the rural districts into reasonably close touch, at least in the organized portions of the province.

FAILURE OF LOCAL BOARDS.

For evidence as to the deficiency of management by local boards and the desirability of adopting the principle of an over-board in every county, it is only necessary to consider the present state of teachers' salaries, the frequency in change of teachers, the indifference of trustees as to experience, maturity and professional qualification of teachers, the low percentage of regularity of attendance of pupils, and the lack of business methods in maintaining and improving the school premises and equipment. The condition of the rural teacher's salary compared with what it was a quarter of a century ago is in itself sufficient to discredit both the management of rural schools and the sphere of influence of the County Model Schools.

In our rural public schools to-day there are about six thousand teachers, of whom nearly three thousand five hundred hold only Third Class certificates and lower qualifications, about two thousand four hundred hold Second Class certificates, while barely a hundred hold First Class certificates. As a Third Class certificate is valid for but three years, it will be seen that nearly sixty per cent. of the rural public school teachers have merely a temporary qualification, while less than two per cent. have attained to the First Class certificate or complete qualification of the public teacher as recognized by law.

All progressive government recognizes the value of expert knowledge and seeks to utilize it in every department. The railways, the banks, the manufacturing establishments, commercial agencies of all kinds, rely upon experts at every turn. In the case of our rural schools the assumption is that the County Inspector is an available expert, but a glance at the situation will show the futility of the system in this respect. The average county inspector has to deal with about a hundred different boards of trustees, and must repeat his explanations and persuasions a hundred times in order to bring about those changes and improvements which are regularly required by the progress of the times. Each of these boards has complete powers in providing supplies, selecting and removing teachers, deciding upon plans of schoolhouses and grounds, and in discharging other important functions, all of which in the case of a county board of trustees could be brought with facility under

the expert supervision of the inspector in a way not at present practicable.

In behalf of the present clumsy and nerveless method of managing rural schools it has been the whim of some good people to contend that the school section has been a means of training the people in local self-government. Certainly the argument is an ingenious apology for so long permitting the sins of the fathers to be visited upon the children, but it hardly can square itself with an enlightened modern sense of the state's duty to the young. If the embryo legislator must have some preparatory training it is scarcely necessary that he should try his unskilled hand in a field where blunders are sure to have far-reaching consequences. Without trenching unwisely on the field of education there are in our day many means of encouraging public spirit and developing intelligent corporate action in other lines of local self-government, as also in farmers' institutes, agricultural societies, dairy factories, good roads, conventions, &c. In any event it is a transparent fallacy to suppose that the genius for self-government can be ultimately promoted by sacrificing efficiency in elementary education. There are a few things that local boards can do better than a central board, and these things could still be committed to them.

ADVANTAGES OF COUNTY MANAGEMENT.

A small board of trustees chosen from the whole county would represent a higher standard of management than a body of three hundred trustees selected severally from a hundred small divisions of such county. The former board could be expected to represent the high level of public spirit; the latter would naturally be more sensitive to the querulous and untutored element of local opinion.

Under the jurisdiction of one board for all the rural public schools of a county marked progress could be made with great promptness in nearly every department and phase of school improvement. The schools would become unified into a definite system of equally strong and well articulated members inspired by a higher and common educational ideal and in happy contrast with the present isolated and various set of rural schools to be found in almost every county of the province. All the

school moneys of the county would be collected, disbursed and accounted for, according to systematic business methods, at the office of the County Treasurer. An equitable distribution of the government grant would become a simple question since it could be paid in a lump sum to each County Board. It would be possible to pursue a uniform and progressive policy toward the teachers, equitably rewarding efficiency and length of service and promoting the success of the inexperienced by placing them in suitable schools. The necessity for district certificates and temporary certificates would speedily disappear, and equal and ample educational privileges would be extended to every child. A county board, removed from local influence, could effectually deal with all serious cases of irregular attendance. The wholesale purchase of equipment and supplies, under the immediate advice of the inspector, would effect a large financial saving while affording a two-fold aid to educational efficiency in providing for every school the right things at the right time.

The consolidation of schools, the construction and improvement of school-houses, the beautifying of grounds, and the entire maintenance of all school property could be carried on with a maximum of system, efficiency and economy.

A county board could be depended upon to take an equal and progressive interest in all the schools, utilizing the expert advice of a capable inspector to apply every desirable measure promptly and simultaneously in all parts of its jurisdiction. Under such a system of management it will be perfectly practicable to raise the rural schools of Ontario to a plane of uniform excellence quite beyond their reach while existing methods are retained.

THE STATUS OF THE RURAL TEACHER.

The status of the rural school teacher involves the questions of salary, permanency and qualifications. Notwithstanding the general prosperity of the country rural school salaries have recently been relatively much lower than twenty years ago and there is not a shadow of evidence to show that our school policy has had the slightest systematic, beneficial effect on salaries during the past thirty years. Two points are clear,

however. The low salaries are not due to lack of financial ability. Salaries have temporarily risen when the supply of teachers has temporarily decreased, as in case of certain Boards of Examiners restricting renewal of certificates ; as also in case of lengthening Normal School term. This would seem to suggest (1) that the rural trustee will take the cheap teacher in preference to the teacher of proved ability, and also (2) that one step toward remedy would be to cease glutting the market with cheap teachers. For many years twenty-five per cent. of the rural teachers have stepped entirely out of the ranks annually. For many years the County Model Schools have been permitted to recklessly license about eleven hundred young people per annum to help fill the chasm, apparently through official timidity that there might be a dearth of teachers. When the County Model Schools first came upon the scene they were a timely guarantee that those to whom our schools were to be committed must henceforth possess some professional training. They were wisely devised for a transition period but should long ago have been gradually merged into a higher system of professional training.

The low salary obtainable by the quickly produced teacher, as well as the competition kept up by pressure of the Model School output, has been sufficient to account for the lamentable lack of permanency in the rural schools. If any further condition were needed to discourage the teacher who loves the work from attending Normal School and obtaining a higher certificate, that condition has been created by the policy of many County Boards of Examiners whereby Third Class certificates have been freely renewed, thereby further augmenting the already too large proportion of low grade certificates.

Not alone the speedy and superficial professional preparation at the Model Schools, but the low percentages required on the academic examinations, must be held to account for the rather mediocre qualification of the majority of our rural teachers. A mediocre initial standing would not be so fatal were the immature teacher placed under conditions that would constrain and encourage him to move up. But our school system, while priding itself in the facility with which the pupil may proceed from the kindergarten to the university, affords no

parallel facility for the teacher to do likewise. The rural teacher has small chance of getting into the urban elementary schools; the teachers of the latter have small chance of getting into the high schools; the university professors are seldom chosen from the high school staffs. The several entries into these grades of institution are direct and independent. This is due in some measure to the notable feature that the teachers of Ontario are trained in three separate and unrelated institutions—Normal College, Normal School and County Model School. This is virtually without parallel in the “learned professions,” and is largely accountable for the arrested development too common in the ranks of teachers. The state grades its teachers’ certificates into First Class, Second Class, Third Class and several other special grades. Such a system of distinctions would seem preposterous in the medical and legal professions, for example, and would justly lower their general status in public esteem. The circumstances warrant higher standards of preparation for teachers and a clear line of definition between teachers and licentiates.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE TRAINING SCHOOLS.

To establish contact between the university and the rural school through the medium of the teacher, and to secure all that this implies, is the chief goal of internal educational improvement of our rural schools. The Model Schools, as at present constituted, offer no prospect of amelioration for rural schools and might well be superseded in the organized parts of Ontario. The Normal Schools are entitled to the most appreciative consideration. Had it not been for these institutions the rural schools would have been long since in a desperate condition. Despite the predominance of female teachers, too often bemoaned inconsiderately, the average Normal School graduate has been serving at least ten years in our public and separate schools. It is quite apparent too that the recent lengthening of the Normal School term to one year already promises to yield good fruit as to both permanency and efficiency of teachers. The Normal Schools have been handicapped by the defective academic standing of students and by being incapable of doing academic work owing to small staff and extensive professional

course. By force of circumstances the Normal Schools have been out of touch with the rural schools and the public schools generally. Excepting Principal White of Ottawa and Vice-Principal Dearness of London, both recently appointed [from the ranks of inspectors, no Normal School Master has been in contact with the rural schools in the last quarter of a century. In view of this condition it was an omission of the Education Department not to afford to the Normal School masters facility to familiarize themselves with the internal condition of the rural schools. This omission can only be accounted for by the fact that during the last quarter of a century the Department has itself been out of touch with our rural schools. The gravity of this state of affairs is more fully realized when it is recalled that there are not a few inspectors who are apathetic toward the Normal Schools, some going so far as to discourage their teachers from attending Normal School. It will not settle the matter to say "So much the worse for these inspectors." This is only part of the indictment. The rest of it is "So much the worse for the Normal Schools, the Education Department and rural education generally."

Thus the relations of the Normal Schools may profitably be revised ; their relation to academic work ; their relation to the rural schools ; their relation to the preliminary training of rural school teachers ; their relation to the university in providing a high professional and academic standard for the teacher. This raises the question of a Teachers' College.

The Ontario Normal College is such an institution in swaddling clothes. It is due to the masses that their teachers should be given every facility and encouragement to reap the benefits of university culture, and this should be considered at least as needful for the teacher as for the doctor, the lawyer or the clergyman. The outstanding argument above all other special arguments for state support of the university is that its culture will be brought to the masses through the teacher. The Teachers' College is entitled to the advantages of direct university relation. The entire training of teachers, academic and professional, should be harmonized with the university standards of the province, so that at every step in his professional progress the teacher could obtain a university equivalent.

THE RURAL SCHOOLS NEED A HIGHER OUTLOOK.

With the machinery for training teachers unified and thoroughly related on the one hand to the rural schools, and on the other hand to the university,—with the mode of managing and maintaining the rural schools materially improved, it would at once become possible to give them that higher outlook which is fundamental in properly sustaining elementary education. It is clear that the dead level of the Three R's has failed to do this, and that it is in good part responsible for the depauperated rural opinion, unhappily too general, respecting the value and scope of elementary education. The situation would not have been so bad had a larger number of the best young people produced by the rural schools cast their lot in the country. But our educational policy thus far in both Canada and the United States has constrained rural pupils to resort to the urban centres for their further education. Thus many of the best of them have been drawn into the swirl of urban life and their influence has been lost to the rural district. Thus also the most progressive residents of the rural districts are hampered in their efforts to improve the rural schools owing to the contracted vision of the prevailing majority.

It is therefore desirable that the pupils of the rural schools should be given the opportunity to receive higher education in the rural districts. In such a course of higher education three conditions should be observed (1) It should be brought into close contact with the rural schools. (2) It should lend itself to the purposes of general culture which should never be subordinated. (3) It should have a practical side to turn the minds of both boys and girls to the advantages and opportunities of life in the country.

The principle of Continuation Classes, already recognized in the public school law of the province, affords an agency for higher rural education, in which there are great possibilities. The time is probably ripe for recognizing the high school as an urban institution with the Continuation School as its correlative for the rural districts, but it would scarcely be wise to model the latter after the former or to shape its destiny so that it may ultimately become a high school. To make similar Departmental restrictions apply to both High school and Con-

tinuation school would be fatal to the growth of the latter. To apply our present high school regulations to the high schools of thirty years ago would have snuffed out the flame of secondary education. The continuation schools of to-day are relatively comparable to the high schools of thirty years ago, and the motto of the Education Department in dealing with them must be *alere flammam* if the claim of the farmer's children to a sound elementary education is to be granted. The chief concern of the government should be to meet local effort with liberal grants, to guarantee capable and mature teachers, and to suggest an intrinsically meritorious course of work. Under such conditions a brighter day for rural education would arrive, and minor questions of equipment and accommodation would in due course solve themselves without any inconvenient application of the Departmental plumb-line.

R. H. COWLEY.

PHILOSOPHY AND CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

THERE is nothing which a man cannot believe if he wants to believe it. This is, perhaps, another way of putting Huxley's warning against the lowest depth of immorality, that of people pretending to believe what they have no reason to believe, because it may be to their advantage so to pretend. I have just risen from a reading of Dr. Watson's exhaustive article on *Humanism* in the last issue of the *QUARTERLY*, which is certainly a faithful synopsis of the Kantian philosophy. In the opening paragraphs of that article we are introduced to one or two of the prophets of the "New Humanism," while yet they are in the heat of prophesying against the stability of all previous systems of philosophy. One of these prophets, among the many youthful things he has been saying of the old philosophies, claims that each of these philosophies is an achievement unique and personal, so much so that the most faithful discipleship can in no wise transfer the full flavour of it into another soul,—and pleads that one ought not to deny another the precious right to behold reality at the peculiar angle whence he sees it.

Now, a new thing has come amongst us in these very modern times—not a philosophy perhaps, but a beholding of reality at a peculiar angle—and it is to be hoped that no harm may come to any one from an examination of this new thing, known as Christian Science, while one brings the very new alongside of the very old, to discover the cause of the growth of a so-called latter day religion, which so many are prone to run after or to extinguish by a flash of the preliminary laugh.

The Christian Scientists have been endeavouring to place themselves beyond the reach of criticism, by claiming that the only trustworthy sources for a proper understanding of their system are its own authorized literature and those who understand and live up to its teachings. The nature of Christian Science, it is said, makes it impossible for it to be rightly understood except as it is approached in a Christian way and dealt with according to Christianly scientific methods. This is only another way of saying that no one may

criticize Christian Science unless he is a Christian Scientist. Worthless, therefore, as my testimony may be in the eyes of the faithful, I venture to say, that Christian Science, as formulated by Mrs. Eddy, ought no more to be called a "fake" than can the New Humanism that has so patiently been taken to task by Dr. Watson. The most sympathetic criticisms, however, can only say that Christian Science, is but the least little bit of a fuller development of the Christian faith in the language of philosophy, wherein reality has its warrant of being from the individual will to believe. In fact I look upon Christian Science much as I have always looked upon the Salvation Army movement. The Salvation Army movement has been a measuring out of the gospel to those who would lead the better life without the assistance of the Church, amid all the roughnesses of the lower social life ; while the Christian Science movement has been a means of stirring up the interest of some of the more intelligent in our communities in the Christian ideals of conduct, just as they were beginning to despair of proving for themselves that the Christian hypothesis is a *living, forced and momentous* hypothesis, leading to an approximate estimate of the real.

One would only lose himself and those whom he would endeavour to help, were he to proceed to examine Mrs. Eddy's glib-tongued eclecticism in the light of all philosophy. A volume or more would be required for such a venture, even if no long-winded animadversions were indulged in. From one point of view, only the more inconsiderate, who judge of such matters in a superficial way, can have any prejudice against Christian Science as an evil to be discountenanced because it happens to be a new thing. An Anglican clergyman down our way with ritualistic leanings has more than once brought up before the church courts his views on the efficacy of the anointing of the sick with consecrated oil ; and, in my opinion, there can be no justifiable hindrance thrown in the way of his enthusiasm were he to confine the practice of such anointing as a soothing to the sick, while seeking to sustain them in their expectations of compassion from a beneficent Providence. But that there should be framed a church canon to enforce on other clergymen the practice of anointing the sick

with consecrated oil as a curative process *per se* is quite another thing. There are many, however, who, having like myself made up their minds in regard to the commercial element that is making little else than a mart of the so-called new religion, would like to see whether Mrs. Eddy's articles of faith are in harmony with the principles of philosophy and with the teaching of Christianity as handed down to us from the days of the Master. And hence I am sure no one will take exception to the fairness of placing the eclecticism of Christian Science, the last of the *isms* to pay court to the secret of Christ, alongside of the Neo-Platonism that may be said to have been the first of the philosophies to pay court to Christianity.

"Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures," is the name given to what otherwise may be called a latter-day testament supplementary to the New Testament. Technically speaking, it is the original, standard and only text-book on Christian Science Mind Healing, issued from the press of the Christian Science body, in Biblical bindings, and at easily recognizable remunerative prices. In addition to this there is a small preliminary manual entitled the "Unity of Good," and a third pamphlet of thirty pages or so which may be looked upon as the Shorter Catechism of the new sect that is beginning to have all the church comforts one could desire for it. All of these three volumes are carefully marked: "Copyright. All Rights Reserved."

The said Shorter Catechism has such queries as these in it: (1) How would you define Christian Science? (2) What is the principle of Christian Science? (3) Is God the principle of all science or only of Divine or Christian Science? (4) What is meant by God being a person? (5) Is man material or spiritual? (6) Is there no matter? (7) How should I undertake to demonstrate Christian Science in healing the sick? (8) Is the healing of the sick the whole of Christian Science?

Now, one can see that there is little or no science in these queries or their possible answers, except, perhaps, in three of them, the whole of them in fact leading up to the main homily in the booklet on the curing of the sick and on the duties and expenses connected therewith. And though it is solemnly affirmed in the answer to one of the queries that healing physical

sickness is the smallest part of Christian Science, there seems to have been little else in the mind of the writer of the pamphlet save the healing art of the Christian Science practitioners ; at least more than fourteen pages of the twenty-four of the booklet are devoted exclusively to that theme. Indeed all that there is of science in the said Shorter Catechism may be found in the following answers that are suggested to the novice: (1) Christian Science is the law of the Good. (2) The principle of Christian Science is : God the Supreme Being, Infinite and Immortal, the Soul of man and the universe, our Father in Heaven, Substance, Spirit, Life, Truth and Love. (3) God is an individual God rather than a personal God. (4) There is nothing in the universe save Spirit, and that Spirit is God, the All in All. (5) There is no matter. (6) Sin is born of matter and disease is born of sin. (7) God knows no such thing as sin. (8) The material consciousness, as distinguished from the Divine spiritual consciousness, can have no real existence, and since matter, sin, disease and death are only cognitions of the material consciousness they have no real existence. (9) Health is a submergence back into the Spiritual, into the Good, to God the All in All.

Any polemic over these fundamentals of Christian Science would be an endless one, as the history of philosophy bears ample witness. From the days of Plotinus, the most distinguished of the Neo-Platonists, down to the birth of the New Humanism that has just been dealt with by Dr. Watson, there has been nothing in our philosophies that has been subjected to so much settling and unsettling investigation as this question of reality, in the material or out of it. In fact, Mrs. Eddy and some of her numerous followers can hardly fail to recognize the most of her enunciations about spirit and matter and sin and the virtue of returning to the Good which is Spiritual—out of what does not exist into what does—in the conclusions reached by Plotinus fourteen hundred years ago : (1) The One or the Good is not an object of rational cognition. (2) The image of the One, sent out as an emanation of the Good, is the Infinite Mind, the Nous with the Ideas immanent in it, not as mere thoughts, but as substantially existent and essential parts of itself, the source of true being, the realm

of the real. (3) The Infinite Mind in turn emits as an image of itself the Soul. (4) The Soul is absolutely separable from the body and survives it, though it takes part in all the functions of the body before what we call death. (5) Matter, which is in the objects of sensuous perception, is non-existent, essenceless, being producible by forces not inherent in it. (6) Man has estranged himself from God, from the Good, and yet may return to the Spiritual state before death by the exercise of virtue and above all by the immediate ecstatic intuition of God, the Good, the only Real, and by becoming one with Him.

And as there is nothing new in the fundamentals of the newly arrived cult of Christian Science, just as there is nothing in the New Humanism but a roundabout way towards the truths clarified by the Kantian philosophy, one may say of the one, as quietly as Dr. Watson has said of the other, that there is no charge of the crime of immodesty lying at its door. With the sanction of its founder, it has been said that she has begun where the sages of the world left off, being herself given to extensive research and possessed of a very wide experience. There may exist numberless opinions concerning any certain proposition, but there can be but one absolute truth concerning it; and it was through practical demonstration that Mrs. Eddy arrived at the truth concerning God and His creation. Mrs. Eddy was the individual, who had profited sufficiently by past history and experience, to turn her back upon materiality. Her deep spiritual nature, clear perception and constant truth-seeking, together with the logical conclusions in her unusual experience, pre-eminently qualified her to become the discoverer of this great truth. She was the one who had hope and courage enough to inspire a sufficient search into the spiritual to discover spiritual causation. In her near approach to God, she attained to that healing perception of His nature and essence, which is the foundation of Christian Science.

And all this cannot but be true to the ecstatic convert of Christian Science. In fact it would be a pity, perhaps an immorality, Huxley's "lowest depth of immorality," if it were not so. It is not the first time that a privileged sect has been provided with the ecstasy of discovering the Real, nay, of discerning God as He actually is, and with no bare-faced blasphemy

in the corroborative evidence either. And what service would it have been to any one to tell such that our philosophical systems and their developments were all but at one as far as these sifted principles were concerned : (1) Reality can neither be a spiritual nor a material emanation from man's own divining or knowledge, and that to know God as He is, one would have to be God. (2) Science can tell us what exists relatively, but cannot tell us what ought to exist. (3) There is an absolute opposition between faith and knowledge, and it is therefore meaningless to ask what the world is beyond what we make out of it, or what the real is in itself. (4) The mind makes a Nature out of a material it does not make, and such a Nature is a construction in the sense that it exists as Nature with a meaning only for an intelligent subject. (5) Our intelligence, though it builds up a world for us, does not build up itself, and hence reality predicates a complete or perfect intelligence which is God and can only be God.

But while Christian Science is no new science, nor a science at all, not even a logical development of any known systematic philosophy, I do not think it ought to be cast aside by the thinking or the unthinking as a something that is not worth looking at. The latter-day testament of the new sect is a book worthy of being read. It resembles the ill-constructed sermon of the popular preacher, with the weightiest and most striking of thoughts thrust into it at intervals that are wholesome to remember in these restless days of time-serving. It is a compendium of brilliant non-sequiturs that cannot but force one to take thought of the world he has been fashioning for himself. And possibly should the light of a personal ecstasy over the best that is in him, illumine his poor palpitating consciousness, whether it be of the material or the spiritual or of a blend of both, he may awaken to a further desire to know more of the relationship between sin and disease, to find a healing in the ecstasy, if not some scientific bottom to the curative treatments of Christian Science so-called. The examination of this phase of Christian Science would hardly come under the heading given to this article ; and hence, perhaps, it would be better that it should be considered under a distinct caption in an article by itself at some other time.

J. M. HARPER.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THE FORCES IN FAVOUR OF MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S POLICY.

DR. BALFOUR has resigned and a Liberal Government under the leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has taken the place of a ministry which, though it could still muster a considerable majority, had been much weakened by internal dissensions. This event seems to mark the dissolution, in its old form at least, of that famous alliance between the Conservative and Liberal Unionist parties which has existed for nearly twenty years, and during most of that time has enjoyed the confidence of the people of Great Britain. Salisbury, Balfour, Chamberlain, Hartington, these were the four pillars of the alliance. Three of them, at least, were men who had no personal sympathy with each other, but were kept together only by a common sense of what they believed to be their country's welfare. Salisbury died in 1902. Hartington (who had succeeded to the Dukedom of Devonshire) withdrew from the Government in 1903, on the question of a Preferential Tariff. And now Balfour and Chamberlain having apparently fallen out on the same question, not to speak of some diversity of opinion on the part of other members of the party, there was nothing for it but to resign office and give the party the opportunity of discussing in the freedom of Opposition with what new policy and what new combinations it will face the country at the next general election.

Mr. Balfour's general attitude on the Tariff question is well understood ; the difficulty is to say what it would imply in the way of practical action in any given case. He has repeatedly declared that he is not in favour of Protection, but that he thinks Britain ought to be free to retaliate against the protective tariffs of other nations. The policy is a rather ambiguous one and might in practical operation be difficult to limit or distinguish from a general policy of Protection. But it might be a good tentative policy and avoid the bad effects which a sudden and general development of Protection might possibly have on Britain's carrying trade and her importance as a distributing

centre. But it is an obscure policy, a policy of compromise with possibilities on both sides which are not reassuring either to the genuine Free Traders or to the ardent Preferentialists. Yet in ordinary circumstances it might have been quite to the taste of the English nation, which has always loved a good working compromise.

But the present circumstances are not ordinary. The British Empire with its great autonomous colonies is at a critical stage of its growth, and in the question of the Tariff is involved the strengthening or relaxing of the economic relations between them which are the solid basis of all other interests. Confronted with this question Mr. Balfour, while still continuing to profess a Free Trade Policy in theory, asks for a free hand "to draw the Empire together by preferential treatment of colonial goods." At this point one cannot but think Mr. Balfour's objections to Protection have become highly academic.

Mr. Chamberlain's policy has the advantages of being a more definite and resolute treatment of the situation and more in accordance with the sentiment of the Colonies on this question. He advocates Preferential trade within the Empire on judiciously chosen articles of commerce, and he unites with this a frank criticism of Free Trade as no longer suitable to modern conditions under which immense corporations and powerful transportation companies are contending for business on every route and in every quarter of the globe, often backed, too, by the whole influence which their respective Governments can exert through consular, diplomatic and other channels. Here is the Empire, Mr. Chamberlain says, doing an immense trade with foreign nations in commodities which might, to a much greater extent, be bought within itself. Is it possible to make mutually beneficial arrangements in this respect, or is it not? If it is not, then it is quite possible that some day a position might be developed unfavourable to the unity of the Empire. Canada, for example, gets 71 per cent. of her imports from foreign countries (60 per cent. coming from the United States alone) and only 24 per cent. from Great Britain. On the other hand, Canada's exports to Great Britain constitute 55 per cent. of the whole, while only 33 per cent. goes to the United States. If these two tendencies of Canadian commerce, to sell always

more in the British market and to buy always more in the American market, continue entirely uncorrected, we should soon reach a position like this ; Britain would be buying most of Canada's products, securing by means of her power and agencies favourable treatment for Canadian trade with Japan, Africa and distant countries, protecting Canadian commerce on the sea and in every quarter of the globe, but receiving no special economic benefit in return, excepting always, of course, the preference tariff established by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Fielding. That is a step in the right direction, because while it avoids the dangers incident to any form of political federation, it is meant to give an economic return for the benefits, economic and other, of connection with the Empire. It is in fact a recognition of the principle of Preference within the Empire on the Canadian side. What remains to be decided is, whether Great Britain is prepared to accept the principle frankly, and how far it can be carried in the way of mutually beneficial arrangements.

It is very noticeable how rapidly the feeling has grown in Great Britain that something should be done in the direction of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. Ten years ago the statesman who had dared to advocate a protective tariff in Britain in any form would have been considered a reckless and unpractical politician. But things have changed now. Two weeks ago, at a meeting of the National Union of Conservative associations in London, a resolution was passed declaring that the time had come for "such a readjustment of taxation as will secure fairer treatment of British manufacturers by foreign nations. . . . and largely increase preferential trade between the different parts of the British Empire."

More significant than that even, is the fact that large numbers of the working men amongst the Trades Unions are beginning to seek in some form of protection a remedy against the increasing competition of the foreigner and the trade depression it produces. The address which was sent to the president of the Canadian Trades Congress sometime ago, signed by eighty presidents or secretaries of British Trades Unions, representing, as they said, "a large and growing body of opinion in the Trades Union world," expressed a strong feeling in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. The address of these working men further pointed

out—what has been obvious indeed for some time—that the views of the working man would be heard still more decisively on this side of the question, were it not for the fact that most of the Union Leaders and Labour members are old Gladstonians and use all their power as managers to discountenance this movement. It is a mixed situation and the growth of the new forces has not yet made itself fully felt at the surface. Very possibly it will be eventually the labour vote that will turn the balance in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's policy.

In the Colonies, also, the Australian Premier recently announced that his ministry will ask at the next election for power "to arrange mutual preference with Great Britain." Premier Seddon, of New Zealand, has also declared that the ministry there means "to press the British Government to enter the preference compact." He has since been returned to power. Premier Jameson, of Cape Colony, announced the other day that the Customs Union in South Africa is willing to discuss a twenty-five per cent. preference in favour of Australia. In Canada, also, where for certain political reasons the official expression of opinion is nearly always very reserved, both Sir Wilfrid and Mr. Fielding have practically said to Great Britain, "we have taken a first step, it now rests with you to take a second." Even veteran Free Traders like the late Liberal Premier of Ontario have come round to Mr. Chamberlain's views. Speaking at the National Club the other evening, the Hon. G. W. Ross said—and there are few shrewder judges of the trend of things—"I am convinced that the policy advocated by Mr. Chamberlain will one day be adopted, and he described Mr. Chamberlain as "the greatest Colonial Secretary Britain ever had."

Such evidences of a strong and, I think, a growing sentiment both in the Colonies and Great Britain speak for themselves, and I really cannot admit that the obituary notice which my esteemed collaborator in these "Current Events", Prof. Shortt, ventured to give of "The Passing of Chamberlainism", in the last number of the *Quarterly*, is quite justified by anything we see around us at present. It is at any rate somewhat premature and rather reminds one of the tactics which Dean Swift once adopted to discredit the astrological science of

Mr. Partridge, a well-known almanac maker of that time. Swift published a pamphlet professing himself (under the name of Isaac Bickerstaff) to be an expert also in astrology, and as a proof of his science made a number of predictions for the incoming year, amongst which the very first was that "Mr. Partridge, the almanac maker, will infallibly die upon the 29th March next, about eleven o'clock at night, of a raging fever." When the 29th March came, Swift had the further inspiration to publish a circumstantial account of Partridge's death, in which he allowed himself to have been mistaken "almost four hours in his calculation." Poor Partridge protested vigorously and called the Dean names, but the Dean continued calmly and politely to argue the point with him and to give many ingenious reasons why he should be dead, or at least to show that the prediction was logically unrefuted by anything Partridge had stated. Great, O Dean of St. Patrick's, was thy satire and subtle in its divagations !

Nevertheless, it would be no great surprise to any one if the Conservative and the Unionist parties were defeated at the next general election. Those parties have now had a long term of power, and the British nation has always been ready to give 'the other side' a chance in such a case. The Government's Education Bill, also, has been bitterly resented by the Nonconformists and their clerical leaders, a class which for the last twenty years had been showing a strong leaning to Conservatism of a moderate type. Now Mr. Balfour's Education policy has driven them almost into open revolt. Thousands of them, it is said, during the past year have refused to pay the school tax, and have suffered short terms of imprisonment or allowed their goods to be auctioned for conscience sake. Every Sunday night you could go to one of the large Wesleyan or Congregational churches in London and hear some powerful and persuasive preacher like Dr. Clifford denouncing the Education Act, not to an assembly of women, but to six or seven hundred young men, who applauded openly such sentiments as "Better a thousand times go to prison than obey this wicked law." I give the words as they were given to me by one who was present.

Then, too, the Government's policy of allowing the im-

portation of Chinese labour for the South African mines has been used rather effectively by the Labour leaders to embitter the working men. Most of these leaders are still Liberals, some of them old Gladstonians who have never forgiven Chamberlain for his successful revolt on the Home Rule question. Even the newer and younger type of Labour leader, often a fresh mixture of the socialistic economist and the Liberal doctrinaire, places his hopes of office and a Parliamentary career with the Liberal party.

On the other hand there is the army of the unemployed, the poorly paid, the workers in languishing trades, who have begun to ask if their condition would not be improved by a protective tariff. There is also the question of Home Rule which will work in the English constituencies at least, against the Liberal party. With Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman and Mr. Morley as the ruling influences in the Liberal cabinet and Lord Roseberry out of it, it is evident that the Irish Home Rulers will be able to impose their programme on the Government. Both Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain will make strong appeal to the country on the dangers of a separate Irish Parliament and they can argue also that time and experience have rather strengthened than weakened the force of their arguments in this respect. They will certainly point out how signally the historical parallels on which Mr. Gladstone relied—the cases of Norway and Sweden and Austro-Hungary—have failed to justify his course, and how surely they have led in the one case to disruption, in the other to Legislative deadlock—with every likelihood of separation. It is rather a mixed situation, as I have said, but, whatever may be the result of the elections this time, every year that passes is likely, I think, to give the question of a Preferential tariff a more prominent place in British politics

THE SEAMY SIDE OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.

The following extracts contain a few samples of the disclosures regarding the methods of modern finance recently made before the Insurance Investigation Committee of the United States :

MR. HYDE'S SALARY.

"Mr. James Hazen Hyde, former first vice-president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, testified,..... Was twenty-nine years old.....became second vice-president of the Equitable in 1900, one month after graduating from Harvard..... received a salary of \$80,000; in 1902 his salary was advanced to \$75,000, as Chairman of the Finance Committee; in 1908 his salary was made \$100,000."

MR. HYDE AND THE MORGAN MERGER.

Mr. Hyde "knew only by hearsay of George H. Squire..... was a member along with President Alexander of the Syndicate to float the \$50,000,000 International Mercantile Marine Companywas asked by President Alexander to give G. H. Squire, trustee, a participation from the share of "J. H. Hyde and associates."..... "did not know of what Mr. Squire was trustee and never enquired why he should give him a participation of \$250,000"

At another sitting of the Commission, Mr. Hyde "testified that Governor Odell had a bill introduced into the Legislature to revoke the charter of the Mercantile Trust Co. (a subsidiary concern of the Equitable) and used this menace as a club to extort \$75,000 in settlement of a suit to recover on a block of shipbuilding trust stock which had turned out a bad investment."

With regard to this incident the *Springfield Republican* remarks :

"December 30th, 1904, was a remarkable date in Mr. Odell's career; in the morning came the check (for \$75,000), in the afternoon came his announcement that he had withdrawn his opposition to the statesmanlike Depew." (The Senator subsidized by the Equitable.) These things have a sinister look, however plausibly they may be explained."

Commenting on the above disclosures the *Mail and Empire* (Aug. 2) remarked:—"The first thing to bear in mind in connection with the Equitable is the circumstance that it is a co-operative affair with the shareholders entitled to certain profits and the insurers guaranteed the benefit of the remainder. The directors were trustees for the insurers."

"One gentleman, Chauncey Depew, has been placed on the salary list with \$20,000 per annum as his share, although he renders no services. The gentlemen thus favoured in the matter of income have formed a variety of subsidiary companies—trust companies, banks and so on. . . . In order to finance these companies the resources of the Equitable were distributed amongst them, either at a low rate of interest or without interest. When investments were to be made the Equitable

directors would order the purchase of a certain stock to a certain amount. Then as directors of one of the lesser companies they would buy the stock for the Equitable and sell it to that corporation at a big advance."

THE MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY AND THE PRESS.

Charles J. Smith, testifying before the Investigation Committee, said: "Was press-agent for the Company.....his duties were to counteract the injury done to the Company by the publication of reports of the proceedings before the Investigation Committee. His salary was \$8,000 and he was paid a dollar a line for despatches sent by his telegraphic news bureau. He showed a clipping from the *Wilmington (Del.) News* of a despatch which he had sent out and which he said had cost the Mutual Life \$5,000 to disseminate.....upwards of \$11,000 had been paid by the Mutual Life since the investigation began, for despatches.

THE CASE OF THE MUTUAL RESERVE LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

"New York, Dec. 4.—Horace H. Brockway, proprietor of the Ashland House, in this city, admitted before the Insurance Investigation Committee to-day that he was carried on the pay-roll of the Mutual Reserve for almost a year. His salary for part of the time was \$800 a week, and for the remainder \$200. Mr. Brockway could recall only in a general way what services he had rendered to the Company.....He admitted also that two months after his name was placed on the pay-roll he "gave" Frederick A. Burnham, the President of the Company, \$6,000. The only consideration entering into this gift was that Burnham needed the money and that Brockway was getting "a good salary."

TREASURY SCANDAL IN PENNSYLVANIA.

"The political sensation of the day is the suicide of T. Lee Clark, cashier of the Enterprise National Bank of Allegheny, Pa. The Bank held about a million dollars of State funds and was ruined by being involved in ventures promoted by Pennsylvania politicians or upon which they had borrowed large sums of money.The Philadelphia Press remarks that "so well is it known that the politicians demand risky accommodations in return from the institutions which are favoured by them that some banks will not accept State funds under any circumstances."

EVASION OF THE LAW AGAINST RAILWAY REBATES.

"Schwarzschild and Sulzberger, packers, were fined the sum of \$25,000 and costs on Sept. 21 in the United States District Court at Chicago for violating the Elkins law.....The specific charge was that they continued to accept rebates under pretext of supposed loss and damage to shipments."

DEVELOPMENT ON THE RAILROAD REBATE SYSTEM.

"The common method of rebate in past years was for the railroad company to charge the favored shipper the full freight on

his goods, and then at stated periods to send him a check to the full amount of the agreed rebate. That was one way—crude and easily discovered. Another way was and is to pay the favored shipper a so-called commission on his business, as though he were an agent of the company. Still another way is to pay a real traffic agent, say at Milwaukee, a large commission or a large salary, which he divides with the favored shipper. The Wisconsin investigators found innumerable other devices.

One of the worst results of the payment of rebates to favored shippers has been the corroding growth of suspicion and distrust throughout the railroad business.....the honor of a promise, "the word of a man" has disappeared in the railroad freight business. A promise—even a signed contract—will not stand for one moment, if by breaking it a railroad agent can secure one car more of freight..... Most great shippers expect to bribe at least one clerk as a spy in the accounting offices of every railroad company with which he deals."— *Ray Stannard Baker* in "*McClure's Magazine*" for December.

SPOKANE OPINION ON THE RAILWAY KINGS.

The *Spokesman-Review* writes:—

"Men like Harriman and Hill are wielding powers which would not be tolerated by the American people if their government were to attempt such autocratic measures. They have been taxing the people and their industries at pleasure. They meet with their traffic managers in some secluded office and levy their taxes without even allowing the affected industries to be heard. This method has been worse than taxation without representation—it has been taxation without a hearing. They have had the power to make or break individuals or industries; they have had the power to put their hands into every purse and pocket-book and till in the State of Washington without so much as saying 'by your leave.'"

DISTRICT ATTORNEY JEROME ON THE NEW YORK JUDGES.

New York, Nov. 29.—Mr. Jerome in a speech at the City Club, last night, declared that the practice of allowing political bosses to pass upon the fitness of men for the Supreme Court bench should be eliminated without delay. "I say it with regret. With but few exceptions *I have very little reverence or respect for judges of the Supreme Court* in this department. That this should be so I am convinced is due entirely to the cowardice of members of the bar in this city.

It will be a long time before I lose the burning sense of humiliation which I felt when two judges in this department went down to Good Ground, hat in hand, to beg a low, vulgar bartender to consent to the renomination of two honest, upright judges."

BUCCANERS OF INDUSTRY. WRECKING A RAILROAD.

In June, 1902, the annual report of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railway showed a surplus of over half a million after

paying charges and dividends. The second preferred stock was quoted at 109 in the market. To-day the railway is in the hands of a receiver, and its liabilities are about five times greater than the cash it could produce to meet them. "The methods," says the *Wall Street Journal*, "by which this railway has been loaded with direct liabilities and with guarantees, in order to permit a gambling syndicate in Pere Marquette to take a profit on the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton.....were simple but effective. They consisted in the cashing with money raised on Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton's credit of two big syndicate profits." Between fifty and seventy million dollars of new debts were thus loaded upon the property.

THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF LITERATURE.

Mr. Henry Holt, an American publisher, writes in the *Atlantic Monthly* for November :

One unquestionable result of the law (the Copyright Law) was that, instead of mainly relying on English fiction as before, America 'found herself'; within a decade after the passage of the law, American novels reached enormous sales.....Adventurous publishers were led to think they had found still another El Dorado, and they began a competition fiercer than ever before dreamed of, in advertising, drumming, discounts, credits, royalties, and advances to authors.....Hardly any house escaped the infection of these things. The most dignified and conservative were forced into some of the antics of the most reckless; unless they performed them, authors thought they lacked enterprise.

It need hardly be said that when the new raw country 'found itself' in literature, the literature was of a corresponding kind....At first the stir created by the enormous sales, acting under the "Laws of Imitation" set many people reading if only out of curiosity, books to which they would not ordinarily have condescended; and made the larger indiscriminating hosts confine themselves to these books, to the loss of their old chance of occasionally lighting on better ones. When booming was at its height, a retailer told me "My customers come in and ask "What's the seller? and take it." All this has made it more and more difficult to get books that are not 'sellers' fairly before the public, without an amount of advertising, drumming, discounts and credits that makes them unprofitable.

ATHLETIC GRAFT IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

The following is an extract from an article on Wisconsin University in *Collier's Weekly* for November 18th, by Edward S. Jordan :

Hardly had the new manager taken his office when he was made cognizant of forces inimical to his aims—forces which were educated in the old school of Wisconsin athletic graft. The manager immediately demanded that the athletes pay their training

table-board and demanded more authority from the athletic board to cut off excessive grafting on the association for supplies. Only one man held out against the authorities, Dick Remp, the centre. He was dismissed from the University and denied permission to take his examinations.

President Van Hise had declared early in the summer that Remp should never be allowed to enter college again. The need of brawn, nevertheless, drove Wisconsin to terms, and Remp's board was paid, *special examinations were arranged by faculty men*, and early in the season the University of Wisconsin declared him to be in good standing. If Wisconsin can wink at the challenge of Remp and kowtow to his muscle, then there is little that may be expected to divert her from a second descent to open corruption. Corruption is necessary to men of the Vanderboom and Remp type, and they are teaching the admiring undergraduate at Wisconsin that corruption and deceit can win.

Prostitution of college honour has been common at Wisconsin—so common that the worst treachery of players and the most pitiful weakness of faculty men bring no chagrin to Wisconsin students.

This school of Wisconsin athletic graft had no more typical graduate than George R. Keachie. During four years Keachie enjoyed every form of "college graft" from the sale of advertising space in the football programme to a salary of \$600 as assistant to the manager. He was paid \$3,500 on a contract to improve Randall Field. He ruined the field and sold the dirt which belonged to the University at a profit to himself. Eventually a contractor was hired who for \$400 fulfilled the contract given to Keachie.

Fancy the standard of honour for the life of a great university in the keeping of toughs like Vanderboom and Keachie; fancy such types the fond ideals of the body of undergraduates. This academic 'graft' is, of course, the natural reflection of the political and industrial corruption so widely spread in the United States. Every now and then the American democracy makes a convulsive effort to free itself from the coils of this octopus of graft. State prosecutions and commissions of investigation are instituted, as in the Insurance scandals; there is a flight of epigrams from the press, many of them excellent; perhaps a popular upheaval at the polls, when political bosses are ignominiously dismissed to at least temporary obscurity and an independent candidate like Mr. Jerome, or Governor Folk, is borne triumphantly aloft by the hands of the people. But occasional outbursts of that kind really do little to eradicate the evils which are inherent in the whole system. These evils are

at bottom the general outcome of the nation's training, and although the American nation as a whole has not willed such results, it has willed the antecedent conditions which have brought about these results. It has willed that the standard, almost the sole standard of success in life, should be the making of money, and that the end, almost the sole end of education, should be technical or practical training. The consequences will not be averted by an Act of Congress or the biggest majority that was ever rolled up at the polls in a moment of popular enthusiasm for reform. You can kill aristocratic corruption in that summary way, but not democratic. The one powerful influence working against this systematic corruption is journalism with its admirable instinct for publicity, a sort of professional conscience which even party affiliations cannot smother, particularly in the States, let it be said to their credit. Indeed, I should not wonder if journalism eventually took up the subject of educational theory from this point of view with courage and effect. Here is a paragraph which I read last week, not in a church magazine or high literary organ, but in a great journal devoted to industry and finance:

"While our public system has accomplished wonderful results in imparting common school education, yet it is woefully deficient in the matter of ethical teaching. It is far more important that people should be taught not to steal and to lie, than it is that they should be taught how to read and to write. Sometime or other the country will wake up to the fact that something is lacking in our system of popular education."

"Something is lacking." It is a hopeful thing when journalism has begun to enquire into that fact, for there is no other agency that can reach the average man so effectively; and in a democracy, as President Roosevelt has said, the final decision in such questions now lies with the average man.

EVENTS IN ONTARIO.

THE MASTER PLUMBERS' COMBINE.

We have also our own little docket in Ontario for the quarter, "a small thing but mine own." The Association of Master Plumbers has been on its trial for illegal combination in restraint of trade. Its general aim was relentless suppression

of competition on the part of plumbers who did not belong to the Association, and such careful private regulation of competition amongst themselves as made it practically imperative. The methods of the combine were the usual ones viz. : private agreements with the supply houses as to contracts and rebates, which made it impossible for any outsider to do business on fair terms ; private agreements with the Trades Unions, false tendering, and the application of a bonus system by which an extra charge of twenty-five per cent was laid upon the customer and distributed amongst the combine. In this way the plumbing in the School of Practical Science at Toronto, cost \$2,000 more than it should have done, and in the case of Mr. Merlick's dwelling house, fourteen plumbers received out of the contract price \$25 each as a bonus for merely having sent in tenders. W. Justice Clute found the Associations guilty of illegal conspiracy and imposed heavy fines on them. His comments in giving judgment were very severe. "For the last two or three years," he said, "not one honest tender has come from the Association I call it by no other name than so much plunder."

It is curious to see smaller fish caught in the legal net while the great cetaceans are sporting freely on the high seas. Those very respectable and commercially eminent gentlemen who built up the Standard Oil and the General Chemical did so by methods which were not essentially different from those of the Toronto plumbers. It is the universal pressure of a system. The fierceness of competition under modern conditions of ready transportation is forcing everyone, individuals and nations alike, into various forms of protection, legal or illegal. Unfortunately once the protective combine is established, the temptation to use it in squeezing the public is irresistible, as we see in the Toronto case.

THE RESIGNATION OF THE TORONTO LICENSE COMMISSIONERS.

The resignation of three such reputable License Commissioners as Messrs. Flavelle, Davidson and Murray, following on the dismissal of the License Inspectors of Toronto, might well give rise to an uneasy feeling that Mr. Whitney's Government, strong as it is in the possession of a great majority, may

not always be strong enough to resist the clamours of the local associations for the creation of vacancies and the distribution of patronage. I can hardly think, however, that it was for the sake of creating three petty vacancies that the Government risked the odium of dismissing the inspectors. Everyone who pays any attention to such things knows the peculiar influence which the exercise of license patronage and the surveillance of the license system give to the local organization and the importance which these have in the eyes of the local workers. The office of the License inspector is one which brings the Government into close daily contact with a great trade interest, and the principle of keeping the administration of the license system in the hands of the party has become a fundamental rule of government with 'practical politicians', as they are called, and was not quite overlooked even by that just man now made perfect in biography, the late Sir Oliver Mowat. I have even heard of hotel-keepers who thought it prudent to buy coal from the dealers whom the License inspector favoured. That will illustrate the subtle ramifications of party government in our modern life. "Why", said Jim Metcalfe, one of the most eloquent and knowing of our local politicians, speaking on this subject at a public meeting, "you might as well set the devil to administer the Bible as employ Liberals to administer the License laws for a Conservative government." Jim, who was at one time the popular M.P. for Kingston, would not, I fear, consider Mr. Willison, of the *Toronto News*, a 'practical politician'. But most of us, even Conservatives, will respect the *News* for this proof of free and independent speech.

We see, then, that the Toronto incident really arises out of a practice which has established itself in this country of making a certain class of government officials party workers, a practice which of course means that their tenure of office expires with that of their party. This very reprehensible practice seems to obtain particularly in two departments, namely, the administration of the license system and the administration of the lands of the North-West.

But, however objectionable this practice is in itself, it would be hasty, and indeed unfair, to infer from the Toronto incident that Mr. Whitney has any intention of using 'the axe'

relentlessly in the case of Liberal officials in general. Mr. Whitney's record is such as to give us good grounds to believe that the inherent evils of the party system will be no greater at least under his administration than they were in the best days of Liberal rule.

Certainly nothing would be more regrettable than a general recognition of the principle of the Spoils system in its most objectionable form of 'Woe to the conquered'. That is a form of the system which has a terribly lowering effect on the manhood of the nation. It creates an apprehensive and cringing crowd of officials throughout the country on the one side, men with anxious wives and families, perhaps, all cowering under the axe; and on the other side it whets the greed and partisan ferocity of the local heelers to the tiger pitch. It is better calculated to breed bullies and slaves than the honest and independent citizens a democracy requires.

But, unfortunately, there is a certain class of party workers who are always clamouring for "heads," although they are the very class whose true interests lie in an opposite direction. "Things should go around" is their short-sighted argument.

It is but just to say, however, that in this district, where I see things with my own eyes, the principle of 'Woe to the Conquered' has always been applied by both parties with great moderation. Of course in a small city natural ties of neighbourhood and friendship work freely to mitigate its operations. After Laurier's victory an elderly official, a well known Conservative was removed to make room for a still more elderly gentleman, prominent amongst the Liberals, without any detriment, however, that I know of to the public service. So, after Whitney's victory, the local inspector of licenses, a very decent and moderate man who happened to combine an agency for the *Toronto Globe* with his duties, was promptly replaced by a gentleman who is a Conservative worker.

THE KINGSTON ELECTION CASE.

This case, being the petition of D. M. McIntyre against the return of E. J. B. Pense as member of the Legislative for Kingston, was tried before Judges Street and Teetzel. On the first of November last, after several cases of cab-hiring at exorbitant rates (twenty-five to fifty dollars) had been proved, the

petitioner asked for an adjournment on account of the absence of certain witnesses required to prove charges in connection with the election fund. In adjourning the trial Judge Street remarked that, "in the public interest the corruption on both sides should be exposed." Judge Teetzel had remarked during the trial that, "the evidence showed a lavish expenditure on both sides." On November 27th, Mr. McIntyre appeared at Osgoode Hall and submitted affidavits to the effect that he could secure no further evidence and that his supporters in Kingston were unwillingly to contribute any more financially, to continue the trial. He asked a decision on the whole trial. No evidence was offered on the cross-petition against the Conservatives. Judge Street gave judgment declaring the election voided. In the course of his remarks he said, "the evidence in the Kingston trial is that a large amount of money has been boldly expended in bribery and it is almost hopeless to expect a free and unpurchased election in Kingston unless the law is changed. The constituency is peculiarly situated in having such a large amount of patronage available in the presence of the Asylum, the Penitentiary, the Royal Military College and other institutions, and this undoubtedly has its effect on the votes.

The peculiar features of the system are that very often the rival candidates are the men least concerned in the work of corruption (both Mr. Pense and Mr. McIntyre belong to the higher class of politicians) and that the funds are sometimes reluctantly enough contributed by a number of party workers and aspirants who often expect to be repaid in kind. Why the two opposed caucuses should thus persist in forcing the money out of each other's pockets to debase the constituency might not be clear to the outsider. In fact some years ago the leading politicians on both sides here made an honest effort to suppress it. But the system had taken root. The ordinary party worker probably loses as much as he gains—take it all in all—at this game. But the strong and the cunning will win at it as they will win at any other game. Unfortunately, also, the system generally offers a certain amount of odds in favour of the party in power. Otherwise, I imagine, the arm of the law would be more effective in suppressing it.

EDUCATIONAL IDEAS.

The United States, it is admitted on all sides, have contributed greatly to the material side of civilization and, what is still better, they have contributed more than any other nation to that social evolution of the people in education, in manners, in self-reliance and self-respect, which is the only practical form of that old French ideal of Equality. All this indeed was a necessity for the stability and success of a great democracy and their faculty of organization has been developed into something like national genius by the magnitude of the task imposed upon them. Their methods of organizing everything of a popular and practical nature, from a railway system to a public library, are decidedly superior from the point of view of business efficiency and attractiveness. But it cannot be said that they occupy the same high position in the world of thought, in the intellectual, scientific and artistic movement of the age. A German savant who took part in the scientific Congress at St. Louis published a book sometime afterwards in which he said with truth that "literature, art and science, in the higher signification of the last word, have not kept pace with the progress of material things."

One need only look at the general phenomena of American literature to realize the condition of thought which prevails there. A crude freedom of analysis, a speculative boldness which he mistakes for originality of thought but which only shows an imperfect acquaintance with the finer elements and wider relations of the problem, is the most characteristic feature of the American writers of to-day. The ablest men of the nation seem to prefer or to drift into work of an official or semi-practical nature which leaves them with too little time and energy to find their highest voice. The result is an absence of intellectual leadership. The general public seems just as ready to listen to the crude novelities like Mr. Bodmine's* views on the coming industrial supremacy of women, or Professor Henderson's† wonderful theory of love and marriage, or Mr. Orlando Smith on "Balance as the Fundamental Verity," as

*Superintendent of Education in Chicago.

†Professor of Sociology in Chicago University.

it is to hear the opinions of Presidents Hadley and Schurman. And literary reviews, collecting magazines like the *Literary Digest* hardly attempt any discrimination. For them the highest of all qualifications is to be startling enough to attract attention. The intellectual training of the democracy is evidently suffering from the fact that its interest is wholly concentrated on external and passing phenomena. It is unable to take its bearings in higher fields of thought and it has no longer any traditions to guide it. A sort of superficial common sense, based on its own brief experience of things, is its only guide.

It is natural to think that this condition of affairs might be improved by a better system of education, a system which was capable of creating a properly educated constituency in matters of literary, philosophic and scientific interest, and one large enough to make its influence universally felt. Can the standard of the average man be raised in these matters to the same high level which it has certainly attained in America in industrial and material things. Then you would have an atmosphere in which American thought and art, with its natural energy, would grow great.

There are plenty of signs that the best American opinion is beginning to be very doubtful of the results of its educational system and to question the narrow utilitarianism which has so long reigned in that sphere. Sometime ago Dr. Harris, Chief Commissioner for Education in the States, sent me a copy of a pamphlet entitled *Art and Literature in the Schools*. It is part, evidently, of his annual report. I extract the following paragraphs from it as an illustration of the way in which this high American official keeps a certain ideal of education before the profession :

The greatest works of art ought to become the most familiar ones to the people. Care should be taken, therefore, in the school to select those great works and to lead the pupil to an understanding of the motives of their composition and, next, to point out the artistic means and devices for the expression of the thought or idea portrayed, for I have said that a work of art is the union of thought and matter. The senses perceive the material object, but a higher faculty of the soul perceives the work of art and enjoys the spiritual suggestion in it.

.....
The literary characters painted for us by Homer, Sophocles,

Dante, Molière, Shakespeare, and Goethe are better known by the people than any historical characters, and they are thoroughly understood. People learn to do their thinking with them. They furnish keys to our everyday experience; for the great poets have given us characters that are types representing the chief classes of men and women in our civilization.....and furnish us vicarious experiences of life and widen our knowledge of self.

.....the cycles of heroes and heroines of the Iliad and Odyssey have furnished literary categories for European thought for nigh three thousand years. They have grown into great ganglia of apperceptive ideas, and one has to become acquainted with Homer simply to understand the contents of his own literature.

That is a very high doctrine uncompromisingly stated; a mingling of Hegelian and Emersonian veins of thought, which I should hesitate myself to put with the same simplicity before the present day public. But Dr. Harris belongs to that great school of New England thinkers—he is about the last of them—who had no fear of the average man and his opinions and stated their truths at times with oracular brevity. It is rather astonishing, indeed, that so many crude theories of education should exist in the States alongside of such a complete and excellent philosophy of the subject as is contained in the Reports of Dr. Harris and his *Psychology of Education*. Some educationists, perhaps, do not understand the philosophical comprehensiveness of his views. Others may think his ideal too high for a general system of education; for a good many still believe that what they call 'culture' is only for those who have wealth and leisure, and not for 'the worker.' But perhaps after many experiments we shall some day discover that a certain type of literary culture, embodying in a high yet simple form the best traditions of the race, is really the only means of teaching a self-governing democracy how to understand itself and the complex problems of life, social and ethical, that awaits solution at its hands. It may be safe for an aristocracy to teach the masses under its rule nothing but the three R's, or, for that matter, nothing at all; but a self-ruling democracy needs the very best education it can provide for itself.

Occasionally it seems to me as if American journalism, notwithstanding the hurried conditions under which its work and its thinking have to be done, were more generally alive to the needs of the time than much of our modern American

pedagogy is. Here, for example, is a paragraph from a recent article in the *New York Evening Post*, which states the case admirably :

But the new education is also concerned with the decline of the home and of the older social order. The humanities and the pieties of the old home are gone with its industries. Great misfortune as it is, for physical and recreative reasons, that children should no longer know how to play, it is a still greater one for moral and cultural reasons. For with the games has gone a wealth of song and rhyme, of quaint lore and mimetic tradition, which had high formative values. The children who come to our schools, public and private, are not only not 'handy' children : they are barbarian in that they bring with them no linguistic and literary heritage—the cradle-songs, nursery rhymes, and stories upon which the children of an earlier age were nurtured. . . . And these things are of vital importance for character and culture. They are the humanities of childhood's education. They make all the difference in a child's speech and vocabulary. They constitute a background an atmosphere, which is much more conducive to correct speaking and writing than all the drill of the schoolroom. They lay the basis of good taste, of literary feeling and appreciation ; and they are a needed assistance in the development of the sympathies, the imagination, and the higher emotions.

These are not negligible matters. They are not marginal considerations. The real test of all education is this. What permanent interests and tastes, what desires and aspirations, what social impulses and ideas does it generate ? For power waits upon desire, and fruitful knowledge upon appetite. The school is tasked, then, as it has never been before to *transmit the child's rightful heritage in the culture of the past which will enable it to relate itself effectively to the life of the present*. It is called upon to assume functions which used to be performed by the home and other agencies, as well as new ones, to meet the needs of our rapidly developing civilization. This means increased resources and heavier expenditures. It means, among other things, a body of teachers more richly equipped and more highly cultivated than we have been content with in the past. These things we must be willing to pay for, if we would make of our schools our most powerful weapons against corruption, the lawlessness, the materialism, the selfishness, and greed which imperil this democratic venture of ours.

In the same spirit the *Providence Journal*, commenting some time ago on the educational conflict at Columbia University, remarked, "The real problem of modern education should be not to supplant these ideals and aspirations (of the great mediaeval universities) but to supplement them with the scientific methods of modern times. With art and literature

relegated to the background, university training, whatever else it may be, is not liberal education.

These are the opinions of great and representative American newspapers—representative at least of the better class American opinion—and such views are finding more and more expression in high class journalism there.

Meantime one may notice that the point of view in Canada is hardly so advanced on this subject. The *Toronto News* published the other day (Dec. 2) a very interesting collection of opinions from prominent business men on the education of youth. It gave the leading place and most space to the views of Mr. John C. Eaton, of the great departmental store in that city, and the absence of any appreciation of education except as a training for doing business over a counter was rather noticeable in that gentleman's views. It is true the question seems to have been more or less restricted to the consideration of what kind of education was best or sufficient for the business man. But even if the question of Public School Education can be safely or properly dealt with in this way, the restriction in itself is very significant. At any rate Mr. Eaton, whose own education seems to have closed, as far as school is concerned, at the mature age of eleven years, went a little out of his way to talk in the ordinary popular style about college education and "the dead languages." Even the High School found no great favour in his sight, only he "didn't so much object to it".

One would like to know whether Mr. Eaton thinks it should be the aim of our school system to develop the best possible kind of citizenship or only to produce human chattels for conducting Friday Bargain Sales.

Mr. E. W. Davis and Mr. F. Gray, however, both struck true notes, so far, in emphasizing the importance of manliness, honesty and discipline as elements of school education; and Mr. R. A. Gledhill made a very shrewd criticism of a certain weakness in the old educational methods when he said he had noticed that "men who are well educated seem to think that this is all they need, and they rest on their oars; while in the case of a man who, like myself, realizes that he has had but a limited education, the effect is as an incentive to make the best of what he has, and he often outstrips his better educated com-

panion. That is a very good glimpse at the secret of the self-taught man. But, after all, the same energy and ambition, with a better educational basis, would probably have gone still further, and perhaps on still higher paths. Indeed Mr. Gledhill's opinion glanced at that side of the subject also.

A LETTER OF PROTESTATION

(From Hormisdas Vaillancour, of St. Michel des Monts, ancien capitaine de l'armée française.)

ST. CATHARINES, ONT., Dec. 14, 1905.

MON AMI,—Is it that I am amongst the Hyperboreans? Is it that I am amongst hoodlums disguised in decent tailorings? Is it then, veritably, my friend, that this Anglo-Saxon race which is yours has not in the least degree the sense intimate of the beautiful arts, and in particular, of the music which is the expression the most delicate and the most divine of the ideal? How it is clear to me now why your people, your gross people of Anglo-Saxons, are not capable of producing one sole great musician—pas un seul. Never of my life have I beheld such stupidity, such maladresse, such gaucherie, as that of which I was the witness last night at the opera house in this city, where I stay some days with a friend en route for the grand banquet in honour of M. Borden and my good friend, M. Bergeron. Figure it to yourself; to ask veritable artistes like Madame Langley and Mlle. Hope Morgan to present the delicate fantasies of Chopin and Liszt and to sing the songs, songs so genteel, of Rameau and the dell'Acqua in the middle of the comic tumble-downs of M. Bert Harvey!

Ah, how I remember those great artistes when I was chez vous, mon ami; the proud face of Madame Langley with the dark hair, and when she played the melodies of Hungary, c'était une extase ravissante—I cannot tell it to you in English words. And Mlle. Hope Morgan also, when she sang the little song about the French partridge, with just a little movement pathetic in the voice, as when before a child commence to cry, never shall I forget the délicatesse of it.

Ne tirez pas, je suis Français,
Mon Dieu! ne tirez pas.

It was to ravish. Je m'attendrissais, mon ami, comme je m'attendrissais !

It is a bêtise, I say to you, this thing which the Comité of the Veterans has done ; it is a contre-sens. It is to ask to play Hamlet and the ghost in the middle of vaudeville ; it is to recite the sublime eagle of Albion and his Paradise Lost after a causerie of Mr. Dooley. And then—chose inouïe et incroyable—to hiss and hoot these great artistes, ces âmes sensibles, these persons of delicate and quivering nerves, from the stage and expand themselves in enthusiasms instead for the funny men and their tumble-downs. O, les barbares ! les barbarissimes !

.....

Permit me, mon ami, to demand of your great courtesy that you will insert this letter of indignant protestation in the very respectable magazine in the redaction of which you are part. I have never seen it chez M. Bouchemin, notre libraire, and I do not subscribe for university magazines in no cases. I remember to have seen only one ; it was of John Hopkins, and it had all its words arranged in columns like a dictionnaire. That is not amusing to me. But I have no doubt that yours is a very much better.

I subscribe myself with all titles that the Comité of Veterans may know with whom they have affair—mon Dieu ! c'était trop fort.

Je vous serre bien cordialement la main,

HORMIDAS VAILLANCOUR,

Ancien Officier de l'armée française, Chasseurs
des Cévennes.

Arrière-petit-fils de César Morozzo Vaillancour,
lieutenant-colonel, régiment Carignan, des
Etats-Sardes.

Membre de la Société des Antiquaires de
Temiscouata.

Membre correspondant de la Société des Beaux-
Arts, St. Onézime, Kamouraska.

KINGSTON, Dec. 20.

I have published your letter as you see, my dear Monsieur Vaillancour, although, to speak frankly, its terms were so em-

barrassing that I feel it is necessary also to publish my reply. To begin with, I acknowledge there is only too much truth in your reproaches, but, as a question of race, might I say that you are a little severe on our Anglo-Saxon 'maladresse' in such matters. Is it anything worse, for example, than what took place lately in your own province of Quebec? Is it even as bad? Did not the great Sarah have to flee in fear of her life—so she declares—from a crowd of young men, students amongst them too, in the capital of the province? Sir Wilfred did a really graceful and gentlemanly thing in apologizing publicly for their conduct. No doubt you will say, and justly, that such hoodlums do not really represent the people of Quebec. But I have no doubt also, that there were many good people in St. Catharines that night just as indignant as yourself at the manner in which those accomplished musicians were treated.

The trouble is that we English Canadians have no national culture of music which can be rightly compared to that of nations like the Italians, or Poles, or Bohemians, in this art. To the peoples of Central Europe the music of Chopin or Dvorak is full of chords that belong to their national history and aesthetic development, old folk melodies, legends, national glories and defeats, Sobieski before Vienna, Mohacz Field, Diets at Warsaw, Processions at Prague, and a thousand other things that work as hidden strands even in the highest and most classical compositions of their great musiciaes. Such music has the same irresistible sway over their mind as the rhythm of 'Gala Water' or 'Doun the Burn, Davie Lad,' has over the mind of the Scot. But it means little or nothing to the Anglo-Saxon ear which has not been specially educated to understand it. Accordingly our Concert Committees, when they wish to make an entertainment really popular, think they can do nothing better than fill a programme with the coon songs and rag-time melodies of the Sates, or imitations of them. I wish we could create a high class national music founded on old English, Scotch, and Irish melodies and traditions, mingled with what we could contribute of our own. That would be the true line of development for us. But at present our artistes, who are all trained by foreign masters, could hardly be got to

patronize it, and even our public, that part of it at any rate which goes to the opera in evening dress, would not feel quite sure that it was just 'the proper thing.' It was absurd, I admit, to mix the two kinds of music, the exotic classical and the vulgar popular, but there was something absurd in the situation, to commence with.

I hope you will reach home safely and take a good rest for a day or two in bed, which seems to be the modern medical prescription for men of active brains and high-strung nerves. May I use the privilege of an old friend to suggest that these violent emotions, much as they do honour to your character and judgment, may be dangerous at your age. But I have no doubt the sight of your wide rolling St. Lawrence and the rocky headland of La Tremblay, with the old red light-house flashing his watchful eye across the bay at you, as you sit in the dusk on your verandah, will soon restore your naturally gay and happy humour. Above all a page or two of your much loved *Voyage Autour de ma Chambre*,—you remember that 4th chapter and its close, "Un bon feu, des livres, des plumes, que de ressources contre l'ennui ! Et quel plaisir encore d'oublier ses livres et ses plumes pour tisonner son feu, en se livrant à quelque douce méditation, ou en arrangeant quelques rimes pour égayer ses amis ! Les heures glissent alors sur vous, et tombent en silence dans l'éternité sans vous faire sentir leur triste passage." That is not the kind of prose the American of to-day appreciates, but you, my friend, can still appreciate it. In that pure and charming language of De Maistre and that fine power of representing the inner life you will forget the infirmities of our vigorous hustling democracies in matters of high art.

Adieu, till summer comes,

JAMES CAPPON,

BOOK REVIEW.

A TEXT-BOOK ON THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION. By Paul Monroe, Ph.D.,
Professor in the History of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia
University. The Macmillan Company, New York : Morang & Co.,
Toronto.

This is an excellent text-book on the History of Education, combining completeness of historical survey with philosophic breadth of treatment and a competent knowledge of modern educational methods in their practical working. From the systems in use amongst the Greeks and Romans to modern methods of nature study and 'constructive work,' every system or theory is reviewed and exhibited in its relation to the general movement of civilisation. The general views which the author expresses regarding educational ideals represent a sane eclecticism, but in his actual valuation of modern methods he is evidently much more appreciative of the Froebelian method of stimulating the free individual activity and impulses of the pupil than of the disciplinary ideal which seeks to prepare and equip the pupil for a definite and comprehensive ideal of citizenship. I hope to review the book more in detail at a later date.

J. C.

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FORESTRY EDUCATION.*

TO the "Canadian Forestry Association" belongs the honour of having first brought about the serious consideration of scientific and economic forestry. From the first moment of its existence its zeal has never slackened. At present, it has reached the highest spheres of official power. The proof of this lies in the fact that the present reunion has been called by the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada. "Canada," he says, in his letter to the public, "possesses virgin forests, which in extent yield to no other country in the world, and European experts think that her woods will enable her, in the future, to rank first among the greatest wood suppliers of the world."

It is to study these resources and, at the same time, the perpetuation of them, that we see gathered here to-day in such great numbers the representatives of our lumber industry, of our ruling classes, of the universities and colleges—in a word, all those who, for any reason, are interested in the question of forestry.

I am very glad to say that the forestry question has already interested, in a large degree, many of our local governments. Ontario took the lead in establishing, as far as circumstances would permit, a forestry service well organized and highly appreciated by those who know it. And it is a pleasure for me to say that Quebec has also taken an active part in this movement.

It was to reach this end that the government of Quebec, in response to the wise suggestions of the Honourable A. Turgeon, Minister of Crown Lands, sent, last autumn, two young Canadians to the Yale School of Forestry.

*Read at the meeting of the Canadian Forestry Convention, held at Ottawa Jan. 10th, 11th and 12th, 1906.

When they have obtained their diplomas, these young men will go to study, on the spot, the forestry problems of Europe, in France, Germany, Sweden, etc., and, on their return, they will be, not only undisputed judges of forestry matters, but they will be the pioneers in the teaching of forestry. In time, we shall have a thoroughly competent forestry school, attending chiefly to our own forestry problems, because these differ, let us not forget it, from those which present themselves elsewhere. We heartily approve therefore of this wise and far-seeing policy on the part of our local government. For many years we have awaited it, we have desired it, and the honour of having inaugurated it falls to our present Minister.

From the foregoing considerations we are justified in concluding that the opinion of our rulers, whether at Ottawa, or in the provinces, is completely won over to the great cause of the rational use of our forests.

But we should go farther and develop this same turn of mind among all citizens, educated or not. We should reach the people as a whole, and try to bring home to everyone of them sane ideas regarding our forestry problems.

If we do this, our rulers, being certain of the approval of public opinion, could act more energetically, more quickly, without being troubled by the meddling of ignorant or interested parties.

How shall we reach this end? How can we teach our people the rudiments of silviculture? Will it be, for instance, by introducing some knowledge of silviculture into the curriculum of our elementary schools, and by forcing little children to discuss questions of economic forestry? To this question I answer emphatically: No. That the teaching in these schools should consist of reading, writing, counting, a little local history and geography, and the principles of religion, is all that can be reasonably expected. I should advise, at the most, that the teacher, from time to time, during a little outing into the woods, should give his pupils sound and general data on forestry questions. Any more than this would be out of place, and would lead to a pitiable failure.

In the superior primary schools, normal schools and col-

leges, I would go a step further. It is in these indeed, that the teachers are made ; it is from these institutions that there will come those who will be in the future the ruling classes. Consequently, it is only right that students from these schools and colleges should know well the importance of forestry questions. I would therefore advise a training in forestry for these, but on the express condition that it be organized with much tact and judgment. For, after all, our aim must be, not to make professional foresters out of these young men, but rather to impress upon them the conviction before leaving the college, that we, Canadians, have forestry questions to be solved, and that, if we wish to solve them without danger to the future, we must look for this solution to come from competent persons, following closely scientific data and principles. I would like to see the clergy, professional men and manufacturers contributing to spread these same ideas in regard to forestry among the people with whom they live. In the province of Quebec, an active part along these lines could easily be undertaken by the clergy, doctors and notaries, located here and there in the country, and would produce very good results. This education of the people would require little effort, and could be often achieved by advice given from time to time, or by a passing remark.

This is a brief summary of my understanding of the way in which we should realize a practical forestry education. But there is still another way, and it would be wrong for us to neglect it, namely, the reading of newspapers, reviews and books. People read them more to-day than ever. Let us distribute, therefore, on all sides, tracts concerning our forests ; but on one condition : that these tracts be first-class in every respect. In preparing them, the authors should leave out all display of scientific terms, and adopt, as much as possible, the point of view and language of those to whom they address themselves. Moreover they should treat only essentially practical points.

In the United States the central government sends free, at the request of all interested parties, an expert forester who furnishes information regarding the best manner of treating a woodlot, according to the use which the proprietor wishes to make of it. Why should not Canada do likewise? Why should we not

be able to advise a proprietor about the general and particular care of his forest? Why should not the question of the maple sugar lot be specially treated, since the value of this product of the forests of Quebec yields an annual income of some hundred thousand dollars? Why should not the people be advised never to lay bare the surfaces of steep slopes, whether from fear of disastrous landslides, or, of denuding what the centuries to come may be unable to recover? Why should they not be cautioned particularly against the dangers of forest fires, and made to understand the reason of all the official regulations which relate to them? Why should it not be proved to them that the colonist is doing wrong when he persists in tilling a barren and gritty land? Why should he not be made to understand that this poor soil, from which a few passable harvests may be reaped, while its humus and the ashes left after the clearing have not yet been exhausted, will soon be unable to repay the toil which would have to be expended upon it?

These are some of the subjects I would like to see treated in popular tracts, widely spread among our agricultural population. I do not mean, as I said before, complete didactic dissertations; God forbid! The people would not read them. A few pages would suffice, provided they be thoroughly impregnated with the good sense which appeals to every one, and always produces its effects.

All these publications should be printed in French and in English. Because, whether we will it or not, English publications are not now, and never will be, understood by interested parties in Quebec, no more than French publications are not now and never will be understood in the Province of Ontario. I am glad to mention, in connection with this subject, that the Hon. M. Turgeon has ordered a French booklet to be prepared on the general principles and science of forestry. This is to be widely distributed throughout the Province of Quebec.

It is for this same purpose that I would beg our "Canadian Forestry Association" to have the reports of its proceedings always published in the two official languages, in order that a larger number of readers may profit by them.

At the risk of abusing your patience, I beg to indicate another way of instructing the people on forestry questions.

That is, by example. Here I address myself especially to the more enlightened classes of the community. They should take great care of their forests, if they have any, and in this manner teach their neighbours the importance of them. If they can afford it, let them not shrink from the expense and labor of extensive tree-planting.

However, it can be said that these plantations are hardly practical in our Province of Quebec. We must first preserve what we have, improve it, and then our duty will have been fulfilled. Nevertheless, there are instances when planting may be the only means of utilizing certain bare surfaces, or of preventing real calamities.

In regard to plantations, the last number of the *Canadian Forestry Journal* reproduces from the reports of Dr. Fletcher an account of attempts made to re-forest the sandy hills of Argenteuil, near Lachute. These experiments date back from 1898 and before, and the owners of these sand hills are already quite satisfied with the results obtained.

Successful as was this tree planting at Lachute, another, and probably still more interesting experiment of this kind, was tried further down the Ottawa some years earlier. It has no connection with professional forestry and, for this reason, it has a special value.

The priests of St. Sulpice are the owners of large properties at Oka, an Indian village, on the Lake Des-deux-Montagnes. Near the village are vast stretches of quicksand, completely bare, like those found at the mouth of all the large rivers that drain the Laurentide heights. These sandy hills are not only unproductive, but are a growing menace to the neighbourhood. The sand was spreading very rapidly under the double impulse of the summer winds and the rush of water from the melting snow in the spring. The village was in danger. "In 1886", writes M. l'abbé D. J. Lefebvre, the parish priest of Oka, to whom I am indebted for these facts, "in a single night, owing to the melting of the snow, sand was made to cover a space of many acres, and, at certain places, to a depth of five or six feet. During that night, on the slope of the hill, an abyss had formed 36 feet deep, 48 feet wide, and 200 feet long."

Hence it became urgent to take means of preventing danger to the village. M. l'abbé Lefebvre is not a professional forester ; but, under the circumstances, he proved himself to be one, and in a very happy manner.

In order to give those shifting sands the stability and resistance which they were in need of, he undertook, with the permission of his superiors, to plant them with trees. I will quote him again : "The trees which we planted are pines, white spruces, cedars, and also some hemlocks ; but the majority are pines and spruces. The reason for this is that the saplings of these trees are more common. Of the 66,000 trees planted, 8,000 or 10,000 have perished, but later on, I replaced these. The trees which are the most exposed to the wind do not grow so well as the others. In order to shelter the more exposed ones, I have planted them in groups instead of in rows, as I had done the others.

"To fix the sand, I sowed about a hundred bags of poor grain, which the farmers gave me after the sifting. Over this, I spread chaff of oats, barley, buckwheat, etc. The success of the plants appeared to me to be assured after a year. The little trees were planted at a distance of only three feet apart, to prevent the sand from piling up. It seems to me, however, that the distance ought to be from ten to twelve feet apart in a soil where there would not be the inconvenience that there is from the sand. Later, it would be advisable to space them by removing one out of every three. The height of the plants was on the average about three feet ; their present dimension, on the average, is from twelve to fifteen feet ; a few reach twenty feet. The planting was done in October and November of 1886, 1887 and 1888, and a few thousand more in 1895, to replace those which had perished. This time of the year was chosen so that the little trees might have more moisture—the autumn rains and afterwards the melting of the snow. Besides, I thought that by the following spring they would be strong enough to withstand the great heat of the summer and the effect of the sun on the burning sand.

"The total cost of this tree planting was about two thousand dollars. I did not buy the saplings as we could get them a few acres from where we were planting. Later I had some

trimming done; this work costing about four hundred and fifty dollars. Forty-eight acres were covered by these plantations."

This is what my friend, M. Lefebvre, writes. Perhaps some professional foresters may find in these notes some details to criticize, from the technical point of view. If they do, this criticism will not make the results different. The sand dunes of Oka are fixed, the village which they threatened is sheltered, and this young forest, with its trees perhaps still a little crowded, will be worth more in a few years than what was laid out upon it.

I wanted the public to become acquainted with this practical experiment in silviculture, done unpretentiously by people who fear nothing so much as publicity and *réclame*. It deserves to be published, and those who did it are entitled to our hearty appreciation.

While listening last autumn to the account which my excellent friend was giving me of his labours in restoring the forest at Oka, I asked myself if it would not be *à propos* to try similar experiments on the arid farms through which the Canadian Pacific Railway passes above Berthier. There, in summer, the sand is drifting for miles like snow in winter; the harvests amount to little or nothing, and if the people are obliged to live on the products of their farms, they cannot be millionaires. What we should do now, is to try plantations in this district analogous to those of the Sulpicians of Oka. The work is not beyond the means of an enterprising government. These farms could be bought for a song and replanted like the dunes of Oka—more scientifically, if you wish; but at the end of forty or fifty years, they would represent a value much greater than the initial expense of the work, taking into account also a low rate of interest on the first cost.

Should we conclude from the examples I have given that plantations should be greatly encouraged in the province of Quebec? We do not think so. Let the government, or some very wealthy communities, or even some private companies make such experiments, if you will. That may be justifiable, but that private individuals should try the same thing, without very special reasons, and for the sole purpose of acquiring forests for exploitation would be a hazardous enterprise, and

should only be attempted in very exceptional circumstances. That, at least, is my opinion.

What can we conclude from the foregoing considerations—already too lengthy—if not, that it is of general interest, for all Canadians, to acquire clear ideas of forests, of their value, of the part they play in the general economy of public wealth, and consequently, of the jealous care with which it is expedient to preserve and improve them? This is what I should call a national forestry education. We are already on the right path ; we have done something, but there is still more to be done. Let us hasten, and let us not wait until our forests have been destroyed or seriously damaged. Let us spend wisely a few thousand dollars each year, in order to save ourselves later on from spending much more, if it becomes necessary to repair ravages which are too often irreparable. France and Germany would not to-day be forced to spend large sums in re-foresting their mountains and dunes, if they had preserved the primitive forests which first sheltered them, and which a shortsighted policy and favoritism allowed to be destroyed at the end of the eighteenth century. Let not forestry schools be neglected, but at the same time let us awake the public spirit. This will be a powerful means of enabling us to attain with certainty, the end towards which we are all aiming : the preservation and increase in value of our forests, the most important source of our national wealth.

J. C. K. LAFLAMME.

TREE PLANTING ON THE PRAIRIES OF CANADA.*

THE prairie districts in Canada are included in the Province of Manitoba and the new Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta—a territory measuring roughly 900 miles east and west by 250 miles north and south. It must not be supposed, however, that the whole of this immense territory is entirely destitute of timber or wood lands. On the contrary, in northern Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta there are considerable areas well stocked with timber containing merchantable spruce, tamarac and jack pine ; and though this timber might possibly not be considered large from the standpoint of the eastern lumberman, still considerable quantities of lumber, fence posts and ties for local use are produced. In the report of the Dominion Statistician on *The Forest Wealth of Canada*, published in 1895, Manitoba is stated to have 40 % of its territory in woodlands, and the territory now divided into the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, about 43 %. Even in the southern part of Manitoba the open country is frequently interrupted by bluffs of native broad leaf trees, principally aspen, poplar and balm of gilead. In places, too, we even find whole townships well wooded with these poplars in mixture with green ash, Manitoba maple, scrub oak, American elm, white birch and willow. It is not until we get west from Winnipeg, about 350 miles on the main line of the C.P.R., that the true, open prairies are reached. From Regina west to the foothills of the Rockies, a distance of about 500 miles, one can travel along the main line of the railway without seeing a single tree or bush of natural growth, with the exception of an odd cottonwood, maple or willow in some river or creek bottom.

It would be interesting to know the actual causes for the present lack of forest growth over this vast territory. There is sufficient evidence to lead to the supposition that at least very large portions, if not the entire area, were at one time timbered.

*Read at meeting of Canadian Forestry Convention, held at Ottawa Jan. 10th, 11th and 12th, 1906.

Fires have undoubtedly played a large part in keeping down tree growth, and once the old stand is destroyed in this way the natural conditions are not particularly favourable to a second growth. The very richness of the soil is against natural reproduction, encouraging as it does the rapid formation of a thick sod wherever the ground is exposed to the sunlight ; and once the grasses get a foothold, there is little chance for a struggling tree seeding before the next prairie fire runs over the ground. The rainfall, varying according to the season and district from 20 inches to as low as 10 inches ; the elevation, running from about 800 feet at Winnipeg to nearly 3,500 at Calgary ; the extraordinarily strong wind storms and extremes of temperature, are other conditions affecting tree growth in anything but a favourable way.

The advantages, both to the individual and the country as a whole, to be derived from the cultivation of trees in the prairie districts are so evident that it seems hardly necessary to enumerate them.

The average soil throughout the prairie provinces is undoubtedly the richest for agricultural purposes in the world and holds out great inducements to the home seeker. The scarcity of timber, however, making as it does building material, fencing and fuel exceptionally expensive, and the lack of shelter in a country where the climate is at times so rigorous, undoubtedly deters many from starting new homes under such conditions. The most immediate need the settler has at present is shelter, as a protection for his buildings and his stock, and to enable him to successfully cultivate certain fruits, vegetables and tender crops, and to beautify his home with shrubs and flowers. The utter bareness and cheerlessness of the average prairie homestead during the winter months, which could so easily be improved with a small expenditure for planting, cannot be realized by those who have not had an opportunity of visiting the west during that season.

The possibility of growing trees successfully and profitably on the prairies is no longer a matter for speculation. For several years after the commencement of settlement, owing to repeated failures due to the use of tender varieties and the improper methods of cultivation employed, tree planting was looked

upon by the average farmer simply as a means of wasting so much time and labor. This opinion was fairly general even to within six or seven years ago. Now, however, thanks to the perseverance of a few individuals, and more especially to the work of the Western Experimental farms along this line, it has been demonstrated beyond doubt that for plantations to be successful in the West all that is needed is to follow out certain methods of cultivation, and to select the hardy varieties, rendered necessary by the natural conditions of the country. The Experimental Farms have done most valuable work during the past eighteen years in testing large numbers of nearly all varieties which might possibly prove hardy, so that there is no excuse for failure on this account, as we now have a comparatively long list of varieties which we know to be perfectly adapted to western conditions. The experimental farms have also demonstrated most effectually the possibility of growing shelter belts and the great benefits which they afford to the neighboring crops. Even though rainfall is slight the average soil of the prairie is so rich that tree growth under cultivation is very rapid. Very little of the land in the settled districts can be classed as non-agricultural, and it would not do to advocate that the planting of trees be restricted to such soils. Indeed, judging from the plantations on the experimental farms and elsewhere, it seems undoubtedly the fact that a larger revenue could be obtained, say in twenty, or a less number of years, from land capable of producing good crops of wheat, by planting this up with trees than could be expected under the present system of farming. This is not so difficult to realize when we take into consideration the high prices paid for fuel and fence poles, and also remember that under the present system of summer fallowing, now followed generally in the wheat growing districts, the land produces a crop only twice in three years, or three times in four years. Up to the present, planting has not been done extensively enough, nor yet are there any plantations of much over 15 or 20 years of age from which can be obtained any reliable data bearing on the profitable side of tree culture; though from what I have seen of tree growth in the West, I have personally no doubt that a farmer could scarcely make a much more profitable investment, than by setting aside

and planting to trees ten to twenty acres of his lands. Profits from wheat, however, come quickly, and unless actual figures can be obtained to back up the proposition, it will be hard to induce the western farmer to plant with the, to him, uncertain possibility of obtaining a return in from fifteen to twenty years. But planting for shelter purposes is now becoming very general, and it will be a matter of only a few years before the fact that trees will produce a good paying crop is accepted by all.

At the present time one of the factors which, as much as anything else, unfavourably influences the planting of trees to any extent by the settlers is the lack of cheap nursery stock of suitable varieties in any considerable quantities. At present the varieties almost universally planted are the native maple or box elder, native green ash, American elm, cottonwood, Russian poplar and willow. These are all good varieties and of value in certain localities and for certain purposes ; but the ideal tree for shelter is an evergreen. Throughout the prairies the white spruce is perfectly hardy, also the jack pine. The native tamarac, too, is a tree which will in my opinion prove exceptionally profitable, yet I think I am safe in saying that at present it would be impossible to obtain in the West, nursery grown stock of either of these varieties, at a price which a farmer could afford, in sufficient numbers to set out even an acre of shelter belt or plantation.

Ever since the opening up of the West to settlement, the Government has realized the great need of encouraging tree planting, but to within a very few years, progress in this respect has not been particularly rapid. The first scheme adopted was similar to the tree claim act in force in the Western States some years ago, whereby a settler could obtain title to a certain amount of land by planting a few acres of it to trees. The regulations governing the methods of planting, and the ease with which many of these regulations could be avoided, made it easy for settlers to obtain possession of the land without any satisfactory results in the desired direction. Consequently, a few years later the act granting these tree claims was withdrawn. When the Experimental Farms were organized, actual demonstrations were commenced at the western stations, as well as a distribution of seed and seedlings in small quantities, with in-

formation on tree culture to the settlers. The principal work of the experimental farms is of course in conducting experiments connected with the ordinary farm crops, stock and horticulture. The time and money therefore which can be devoted to tree culture, and to the general encouragement of planting throughout the West is necessarily very small and quite inadequate, when we consider the immense territory and the great number of settlers pouring into the country who, for the most part are totally ignorant of western conditions, and particularly of the ordinary factors affecting tree growth.

In the spring of 1901, soon after its establishment, the Forestry Branch organized a co-operative system, with a view to encouraging general tree planting throughout the prairie districts on a more extensive scale than had been done up to that time. The chief feature of this scheme is the free distribution of considerable number of seedlings of the native western forest trees. It was realized that unless this was done, no amount of advice or instruction could in itself induce any general movement in favour of a more extensive system of tree planting. As before mentioned, the very lack of cheap plant material has been one of the chief hindrances, making it almost impossible for a farmer, dependent upon commercial nurseries for his stock, to set out more than a few hundred trees at the most. Such a distribution as is now made by the Forestry Branch is necessarily carried on under comparatively strict regulations, which ensure the proper care and planting of the seedlings, and the ultimate success of any plantation set out under the system.

Under these regulations, any settlers desirous of setting out a windbreak or plantation is required to send in his application a year previous to that in which the planting is to be done. He is then sent instructions as to the cultivation required to prepare his ground for trees, and some time during the summer he is personally visited by an inspector of the Department, who sees for himself whether the ground is suitably worked, and gives the applicant further instruction as to methods of planting, the general lay out of the plantation and the best arrangement of the trees. In reporting to the office he sends in a rough sketch of the proposed plantation and recommends the

varieties of trees best adapted to the local conditions. The applicant signs an agreement to the effect that he will plant the trees, cultivate them and protect them from stock and fire, under instructions furnished by the Forestry Branch. Only as many trees are given to each applicant in one season as, in the opinion of the inspector, can be properly looked after. If, in following years, additional trees are wanted, they are supplied when possible, but not where those previously planted have in any way been neglected.

This co-operative scheme has now been in operation for five seasons, and the results obtained have almost exceeded the anticipations of the Department, and are most encouraging to those employed in this branch of the work. In order to show most readily the increasing popularity of this scheme in the West, and the great influence it must have in encouraging a more general interest in tree planting, I will give the numbers of trees and cuttings sent out by the Forestry Branch of the Interior Department up to the present time:

| | |
|--------------|-----------|
| In 1901..... | 58,000 |
| " 1902..... | 468,000 |
| " 1903..... | 920,000 |
| " 1904..... | 1,800,000 |
| " 1905..... | 2,000,000 |

and there are in the nurseries at the present time, ready for distribution next spring, something over 2,100,000 ; so that after next spring's distribution, there will have been sent out by this branch a total of 7,347,700 seedlings and cuttings, besides considerable quantities of maple and ash seed ; roughly speaking, a sufficient amount of material to plant up, according to our system of setting trees four feet apart each way, an area of over 2,700 acres. This area compared to the total area of the North-West is very small, but it is made up of plantations varying from one-half to perhaps fifteen acres in size, scattered all over the regions at present under settlement. The great value of these plantations does not lie in the actual returns that could be at present or in the future obtained from them, so much as in their educational value. Each plantation, no matter how small, is an object lesson to the surrounding neighbourhood, demonstrating the possibility of successful tree culture where proper methods of cultivation are employed.

In order to supply the large number of seedlings required for this work, the Forestry Branch has established a nursery at Indian Head, in Saskatchewan, containing 160 acres, where practically all the nursery stock, with the exception of cottonwood to be distributed, will be grown. The Dakota cottonwood is a tree of very rapid growth on the prairies, and suitable for pioneer planting in most districts. Seedlings of this tree can be imported from the Western States, where large numbers are obtained growing on the sand bars of the rivers, much more cheaply than they can be raised in a nursery. This, however, is the only variety distributed which is not grown on the Forestry Branch nurseries. Besides growing nursery stock at this station, it is intended also to set out several test plantations, from which reliable data can in the future be obtained as to cost of establishment, maintenance and yields. Work will also be done in the cultivation of varieties not yet fully tested, and more particular attention will be given to the raising and planting of the hardy conifers.

As soon as the work of the Forestry Branch becomes more fully developed, considerable planting will no doubt be done on many of the western forest reserves. Experiments on a very small scale were started in 1904, and continued last spring, in planting Scotch pine on the very sandy soil of the Spruce Woods Reserve, east of Brandon, in the Province of Manitoba. The results so far are encouraging, and planting will be continued next spring. In this reserve there are several townships composed of light sandy soil, unfitted for agricultural purposes and scatteringly wooded with white spruce, and the low spots with tamarac and black spruce, and can only prove of value for the production of coniferous timber.

In the future, undoubtedly, the most extensive planting operations will be carried on by the Government in the Forest Reserves. The railways will also plant up comparatively large tracts of tamarac, jack pine, and perhaps Scotch pine, for the production of ties. At present the cost of transportation is very great and the sources from which ties can be obtained are gradually diminishing, which facts are forcing some of the western lines to very seriously consider the question of growing their own supply.

Planting by the private individual will not be done on any large scale unless in exceptional cases. Such planting will be limited to the cultivation of shelter belts and perhaps a few acres for fencing and fuel. If, however, every settler does his share, the prairies will very soon present a different appearance, and the resulting benefit to the general welfare and comfort can hardly be over-estimated.

NORMAN M. ROSS.

FOREST DESTRUCTION AND PRESERVATION.*

I APPEAR before you this afternoon with a good deal of diffidence, I assure you, because I am to attempt for a short time, to deal with a subject which is a special study of gentlemen here who are very much more conversant with it than I can possibly be. It would be desirable, I think, for any one addressing a Canadian audience on a subject of the great importance that this is to Canada, to have some time to prepare an address, to put it in writing and then to read it. I think that would be the better way. It is not because I have not had sufficient notice, but unfortunately for me, I have not had the time, and I only made a few notes while coming up on the train this morning. More than that, as I stated before, I do not come before you as one of those gentlemen learned in this special subject, but I appear before you as an ordinary Canadian wood-sawyer.

Forestry is a subject of very great importance to all countries and more especially perhaps to Canada, because of its geographical and other conditions. It is important in many aspects. Apart from the forest itself, as far as landscape is concerned, is it not desirable that forestry should be studied and that our farms and the country generally should be studded with the most beautiful aspects of forestry? Then again arises the question of water supply, and coming down to the manufacturing and industrial aspect, there is the question of the lumber supply which is one of very great importance to this and to all other countries. Not to overlook the great importance of forestry as applied to agriculture, every one who has made a study of this question at all, knows very well that in order that the country shall make its best development in so far as agriculture is concerned, forestry bears an intimate relation thereto. But finally, there is the question of the water supply as far as industrial purposes are concerned—in a manufacturing way, and before terminating my short address, I shall endeavor to refer especially to that matter.

*Address delivered at Ottawa, January, 1906, to the Forestry Convention.

Years ago it was supposed that this Canada of ours possessed forests to such an extent that they were practically inexhaustible, and if those present will refer to the speeches made in the Dominion House of Commons, 20, 25, and 30 years ago, they will find that the Chamber resounded on many occasions with the speeches made referring to our inexhaustible supply of timber. I am sorry to say that a very great change has taken place in the minds of the Canadian people in regard to that subject to-day. That idea has disappeared to a very great extent, and there are differences in the minds of the people to-day even as to the real condition. There are those who confidently believe yet that our forests are inexhaustible, and there are those who believe that they are almost destroyed. I take the medium ground. They are not inexhaustible, but they are not destroyed. If better method had been adopted years ago, I think it would be possible for the Canadian people to say to-day that their forests are inexhaustible.

Though late in the day, I claim that there is a great deal that can be done. Our forests can be saved to a very great extent ; and I claim that they can be restored to a very great extent, and I will endeavor to point out how this may be done. The question first arises ; how is it that our forests have been devastated to the extent they have been ? The wood sawyer, the profession to which I belong, is the accused individual. The general supposition in the minds of a great many is that the lumber has disappeared from the forest. He has done his little share in as far as helping to cut down the timber is concerned ; but I hold, and hold very firmly, that he is a friend of the forest. If no other instrumentality but the lumberman's axe had been used in Canada, if no other engine of destruction had ever been put into effect, we would to-day have a green and unbroken forest, and the lumberman engaged in the manufacture of lumber to-day in Canada, with a great many more lumbermen added thereto, would not be able to cut the natural growth of the timber. One of the next instrumentalities in the destruction of our forests is the railway. I claim that the railways have been very great destroyers of the forests of Canada, and I do not think that any one can point to a district where a railway has been constructed through a forest, that has not

suffered from the destruction of the forest in the immediate vicinity. Because I say this, I do not imply that we should not have railways. We must have them, but the best methods should be applied to hinder the destruction of the forests. Legitimate settlement has done its fair share of destruction. Admitting that this is true, we would not pretend for one moment to say that, even suppose we were running the risk of destroying our forest to some extent, we should stop legitimate settlement. No one who is a friend of this great Dominion would think of anything of the kind. We must have legitimate settlement, but, the very greatest engine of destruction that the forests of Canada have suffered from is illegitimate settlement. Many settlers, through well-intended but misguided efforts, have been great destroyers of our forests. If illegitimate settlement had not prevailed to the extent that it has prevailed, three quarters of the forests of Canada that are now destroyed, would be still green and unbroken forests.

Having in these few remarks pointed out to you the destruction and principal means by which the forests have been destroyed, the question, I am sure, that will be asked now, is : What would you do to stop this destruction ; what would you apply as a remedy, to restore as far as possible the former conditions ? I hold the view, and I hold it very firmly, that even to-day if the forests of Canada are well administered, if this illegitimate settlement is stopped, if improper speculation in so far as the timber limits of Canada is concerned is stopped, the time need never come when Canada will be short of a timber supply. Now, to arrive at that end, the first and all-important matter is to keep fire out of the forests that we now have, next you must have proper Government regulations, and in the third place there must be careful cutting on the part of the lumberman. Do not misunderstand me, for I speak this afternoon, first as a Canadian, if I am a lumberman. Though I am somewhat largely engaged in the industry of lumbering, do not think for one moment that I would hinder you from permitting other Canadians, in the very small way in which I began myself, from engaging in the industry ; but I do say that the small lumberman and the speculator is the greatest enemy to the forests of Canada, next to the illegitimate squatter. Do not

understand for one moment that I refer to the men who go into the enterprise of lumbering in a small way, and build it up to great things ; I refer to the men who get a small number of trees in some illegitimate way, cut off the timber as rapidly as possible, and make what they can out of it. It is to that kind of lumbering that I object. The small lumberman and speculator are the greatest enemies of the forest. They are a class whom I personally am in the habit of calling thieves. After we buy timber limits, they, by some hook or crook, buy our territory from the Government, and in many instances they have done so ; we buy the timber back from them and they leave the country, At this very moment, I myself have a shanty, —some call them camps—where we are cutting timber which was ours four or five years ago. It was taken out of our limits, it ceased to be ours, parties bought the timber but never settled properly on the land, and never will, and we are now cutting the timber and paying them for it. This has been repeated, and is being repeated constantly in Canada to the detriment of the forests, and to the detriment of the very best interests of Canada. I myself can take you to a distance of six or eight hours from this city, to a spot where I can show you that an illegitimate settler, for the purpose of raising five bushels of potatoes, destroyed over \$2,000,000 worth of timber. This does not prevail only in that district, but it prevails almost all over the pine districts of Canada, or the portion of Canada with which I am acquainted as a lumberman.

I spoke about careful cutting on the part of the lumberman. What do I mean? I mean that no worse condition in so far as our forests are concerned, could exist than to have lumbermen who have no large investment, but who hold some timber, cutting that timber without regard to the consequences. What I hold is that the best condition of all is to have a lumberman who has a permanent and large investment to sustain and maintain, and one who desires to conserve the timber for the supply of his establishment. As a consequence, I hold strongly that the large holdings on the part of the lumberman is the very best condition, and if I were permitted to organize a system for Canada, in so far as the cutting of timber is concerned, my system would be that every mill owner should build his

mill in proportion to the growth of his limits, and cut annually the growth. If that is done, and fires kept out, the limits of Canada will never disappear. Every lumberman should simply cut the growth of his limit and no more.

Now, I desire to say a few words about the possibility of restoring and perpetuating our timber. Spruce, such as we have here, is timber that can be perpetuated to the very greatest extent. Pine not so much so. I am not familiar with southern pine, but my own observation would lead me to believe that the southern pine of this continent can be perpetuated.

That is my view from observation. I do not know it practically, but in so far as spruce is concerned, in our northern region here, it has the very greatest possibilities. Planting pine is suggested were the forests have disappeared, and I think that in many places this may be done. But in my experience, that, in many instances, is not necessary. In districts in which I am lumbering now, and where they were cutting timber 75 or 100 years ago, we are cutting to-day, and cutting very good logs. In a general way, I think spruce will perpetuate itself without planting at all, and I think pine in many districts will do the same.

Now, I will endeavor to give you a little illustration. I firmly believe that my statement will be questioned, but as far as my word will be taken, I will vouch for the statement as being absolutely true. In 1871 I bought the first timber limit I ever owned. I bought it from Hamilton Bros. on the Gatineau. It was called the Six Portages limit. I was regarded as very silly for having purchased that limit, because it was considered to be absolutely exhausted and worthless; but we are cutting on it still, and we expect to be cutting on it for the next thirty or forty years. When we purchased that limit, there was a farm upon it at a place called Round Lake. That was in 1871; it will be 35 years ago next spring. Hay had been cut on that farm the year previous to our purchasing the limit. I visited it at the time we purchased the limit, but I never visited it again until four years ago, and when I went there then, to my utter astonishment, the farm had become a thick forest of pine. When I came down I told a brother lumberman for whom I had great respect, and who, I knew, respects me very much;

but when I made that statement to him, he said : "Edwards, this is the first time I ever heard you tell an untruth". Well, Mr. Robinson, who is sitting here, was the representative of Hamilton Bros. at that time, can verify my statement, for I took him to the spot and showed it to him. He knew that it was a hay farm when I bought it. Mr. Robinson and myself measured several of the trees with this result : We measured three pines 14 inches in diameter 30 inches from the ground ; one, 15 inches ; one, 17 inches ; one, 18 inches ; and one, 19 inches—a pretty hard statement, but it is true all the same. Some three or four days ago I sent a photographer to that point to get photographs of those trees ; but I do not know what in the world has become of him. He is not back with the photographs. I telegraphed at noon to him. You perhaps think that fellow is hiding, because he has nothing to bring back ; but, if this Forestry Congress continues until to-morrow, I think I can vouch for it, that he will have the photographs of the trees here. I am not in a position to present them now, but I hope they will be ready to-morrow. However, that statement is absolutely true. If it applies to that district it applies to many other districts in the pine regions of Canada.

As to this question of growth, and the possibility of restoring the forests, I do not know whether what I am going to say is the case or not ; but I think these scientific gentlemen on the subject have got down to a fine point what the growth actually is. I will give my own observation as a wood sawyer in regard to that matter. My observation is that the growth varies very much in various districts, that in some places growth is very slow, and that in some other places it is very rapid. I think that perhaps this northern portion of the Ottawa region, and the portion from the Gatineau westward, are the most rapid growing pine districts we have in this portion of Canada. In that region it is my belief that if the pine is carefully cut, just as with the spruce, it will never be exhausted. I think that to deal intelligently with this subject, and to be able to make the very best suggestions as to how the forest may be perpetuated, one would need to be in a position to know what is being done in other countries. I had hoped myself to be able to look that up thoroughly, but I am sorry I have not had time to do so.

However, I have some little general knowledge of what has been done in Norway and Sweden, France and Germany, and there certainly the very best methods of forestry are carried out. I am very well acquainted with some Norwegian lumbermen who tell me that their forests will never be exhausted. There, they never replant ; they just depend on natural reforestation, which, I think, is all that is necessary here. I do not think replanting is necessary, although I think that in many instances and in many localities it might be desirable. Another thing that I do think of the highest importance is this: While neither I nor any other lumberman desires to retard in the slightest measure agricultural development, where it is possible and desirable, I do say that it is the greatest mistake that possibly could be made to allow pretended agriculture to penetrate our forests and destroy them. Especially is this true of the Province of Quebec, a province that has timber lands extending over large areas of country that are suitable for forest production and not suitable for agriculture. In my humble opinion forest lands should be set aside absolutely for that purpose, and for that purpose only, and it would be in the highest and best interest of the province that that should be done. I would make an absolute division between agricultural and lumbering districts.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier asked me, this afternoon, if I would state where, in my opinion, the forests of Canada now exist to the greatest extent. My company has explored a very considerable portion of the Province of Quebec from Labrador to Lake Abitibi, and I say that the region there covered, in my humble opinion, though very badly handled in former years, if care be taken, can be a rich producing forest forever. I do not think there is any question at all about it. Unfortunately, in the pine districts, the greatest damage in so far as fire is concerned has been done, but that whole region that I have in mind is more or less a valuable forest even to-day. Going westward from here, there is a considerable portion of pine and more or less of spruce and mixed woods. Then, when we go into the district west and north of Temiscamingue, in to the property owned largely by the Ontario Government, there, I think, the best forests of pine exist to-day. I think that is the

best pine region. In so far as perpetuation of the forest there is concerned, I am not so well able to speak, because I can only speak from information ; I cannot speak from personal knowledge in the way that I do in reference to this other district.

One very great mistake is made as to our remote northern regions. There are parties who think that you just have to go north to get plenty of good timber. That is not true. When you get to a certain point north—about 200 miles north of this city—you are out of the valuable timber belt entirely, you have there no timber of any commercial account whatever.

There is another fallacy that exists in the minds of many, and that is as to the licensing of our territory. My humble opinion is that it would be far better if the entire area of timber limits were in the hands of the lumberman. They are the best preservers of the timber, and in many instances there is timber wasting because it cannot be cut. It is not licensed and it cannot be cut. Right here on the Gatineau river, and in other portions of the northern district, we have pine which has become so old that it is rotten at the butt, and is useless for any purpose whatever. It is in the highest and very best interest of the provinces, in my humble opinion, that every foot of timber territory should be covered by license. There are those who dread selling it, because they think it means the destruction of the forests. It is the very reverse. Put these areas under license, under good regulations, do not offer a premium to lumbermen to cut too rapidly, but place them in a position to conserve for themselves this timber, and you have the very best system of perpetuating the life of our forests. The lumberman, I say again, is not the enemy, but the legitimate lumberman is the very best friend of the forest.

I have been endeavouring to speak of something of which I have more or less practical knowledge. I am coming now to a little subject which I say at once I have not the same knowledge of, but I am going to refer to it, and it is our schools of forestry and our forestry assemblages in Canada. I used to confront some of my friends who were engaged in these forestry assemblages with the statement that they simply came together for a few interchanges of thought, that they went away, and

that was all there was to it—a little sport ; but, if this is the outgrowth of it, I think a great deal has been done. I want to revert for a moment to my views on the forestry question. I have had several letters from young gentlemen who have studied forestry, wanting to know if I could engage them. I say : What for ? What shall I engage you for ? They say : To take care of my limits. I answer them : I think I know a great deal more about my limits than you do, and I do not think you can teach me anything in regard to them. I hope I am not treading on anybody's toes, but in my humble opinion these schools of forestry are not carried on in a way to have the best results. In my judgment, education in an establishment connected with a college will never have the practical results that it ought to have, and, if I might be permitted to offer a suggestion in that regard, this would be my plan for a forestry school. In order to teach the lumbermen of Canada how to lumber, I would use a forestry school for that purpose and in this way. I would set aside, say a 1,000 square miles, or 500 square miles, and on that I would establish a school of forestry. I would invite young men to come to that school to learn both theoretical and practical forestry right on the limits. I would have these young men make, first, a survey, under direction, of the timber that stands upon the limits. I would then have an estimate made as near as possible and ascertain what, in a few years, has been the growth of timber on these limits. I would have these young men go around and mark the trees each year that can be cut. I would make them cut the timber, haul it and saw it ; I would make every one of these young men into a first class forester and a first class lumberman, and these young men in time would become the lumbermen of Canada. That, in my humble opinion, would be the greatest step in advance in so far as the cutting of the forest in an intelligent way is concerned that could be devised.

I am coming to a matter to which I referred when I began to speak this afternoon, and that is the question of water power. In all manufacturing, power is the primary feature. The Province of Quebec owns water powers beyond and far beyond any province or state on the North American continent. The

cost of manufacturing with coal varies from \$45 to \$60, and more, per horse power per year, dependent upon the localities and conditions. Electrical power can be supplied in simply untold quantities in Quebec for about \$15 per horse power. There are many who believe that the North-West is going to be the world, in so far as Canada is concerned, but I hold firmly that our North-West friends are simply going to build up the east, and that the east is going to become the great portion of Canada. I believe the day will come when the Province of Quebec, portions of Ontario, and other portions of the country that I am not so familiar with—certainly the whole Province of Quebec—will be the manufacturing centres of the North American continent. I do not think there is any doubt about that. How are you going to preserve these conditions. Denude the forests and you will not have these conditions; maintain the forests and you will have them. If a premium is offered to the people of the Province of Quebec to maintain their forests unbroken, and to maintain the water supply which they have—the greatest inheritance that any people could have in so far as power and manufacturing are concerned—that province, although its finances may perhaps be a little at fault to-day, will some day be the manufacturing centre of the continent.

W. C. EDWARDS.

THE FOREST AS A REGULATOR OF STREAM FLOW.

EVERYONE knows that the ruthless destruction of the forest by fire and axe causes destructive floods in spring and severe droughts in summer ; but very few have a proper understanding of the tremendously important part that the forest cover plays in retarding evaporation, retaining the moisture favourable to agriculture, checking the effect of drying winds, and in regulating the flow of water in the streams. Whether the water be used for irrigation, for power, or for navigation, it is important to have the flow equalized as much as possible, because the measure of the water power is the measure of the low water of the stream.

In its natural condition the forest becomes a reservoir, admirably fitted to receive large supplies of moisture, to hold it for a lengthened time, and to part with it at intervals well calculated to equalize the stream flow, and to benefit the vegetation of the surrounding country. The fallen and partially decayed logs overgrown with mosses and piled thick with leaves and twigs, covering another layer of the same substance more than half decomposed, and the whole overlying another of completely decomposed vegetable material, forms a deep porous hollow framework penetrated by myriads of irregularly shaped tubes, pipes and aqueducts connecting millions of miniature cisterns with one another. Every hollow on the surface is obstructed by logs and branches, which block and hold in position the flow of water until the humus below fully absorbs it. On such a natural bed and reservoir rain may fall in torrents, only to be held there in suspension till it gradually, and in such degrees as are best fitted to promote the beneficial work of nature, flows away "in rippling rivulet, curving brook or majestic river", nourishing and feeding the thirsty earth as it goes. One square mile of forest cover is estimated to hold from 14,000,000 to 20,000,000 cubic feet of water, and to retain 44 per cent. of the rainfall which would otherwise be dissipated as water vapor. This means a large addition to the amount which

eventually reaches the streams and is converted into water power.

The leaves transpire an enormous amount of moisture, but by their shading of the forest floor, greatly retard the evaporation of water from the surface layers. In spring the dense thickets of underbrush and the overhanging branches prevent a too rapid melting of the accumulated snow and ice, the whole great mass of humus and roots is thoroughly moistened and soaked, and there is formed a great reservoir ready to part with its watery treasures to the surrounding atmosphere at the fervent bidding of the warm sunbeams of early summer, when vegetation needs them most. The slow melting of the snow and ice enables the spongy forest floor to absorb the water formed, increase the seepage run-off, thereby equalizing the stream flow and preventing disastrous floods. Having entered the soil, the seepage water percolates slowly downwards, and may require weeks or even months before reappearing at lower levels in the form of springs for domestic use, or as the feeders of streams which may be utilized for irrigation purposes, for power or for transportation.

Besides, at comparatively high elevations the forest is often quite an important factor in the precipitation of moisture, as in the case of the warm moisture laden winds from the Pacific, when they come in contact with the various ranges of the Rocky Mountain system. The explanation is: first, that the forest lowers the temperature of the region, and thus more completely condenses the water vapor than a non-forested area would do; and, second: that the trees force the air currents upward into a region of diminished pressure, causing the air to lose heat rapidly by its expansion, and thus precipitating the moisture. On a smaller scale, the same thing is well illustrated in the case of the forested area of the "Height of Land" in Ontario. The southerly and south-westerly winds moving over the prairie states of Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska being highly heated and expanded when they reach Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, take up an enormous quantity of aqueous vapor as they pass over them. On reaching the "Height of Land", the air currents are forced into the higher regions of the atmosphere, and still further cooled by the

action of the forest itself. The result is that an enormous amount of rain and snow is precipitated, which would otherwise drift northwards into the James Bay region. The prairie states may be regarded as the furnace, the great lakes as the evaporating pans, and the forested areas of the "Height of Land" as the condensers.

In humid regions considerable evidence has accumulated to show that the presence of forests materially increases the stream flow, especially when the precipitation is fairly evenly distributed over the year. The action of the shade and litter in greatly retarding evaporation, the breaking of the winds, and the greater relative humidity of the forest air, all make the forest a splendid conservator of moisture, and a much better regulator of stream flow than a system of reservoir dams could possibly be. Dams would be very costly, and at best would only partially overcome the difficulty, whereas a well managed forest would equalize the flow and yield a handsome revenue from the sale of the timber.

The action of the forest as a mechanical barrier to winds is well illustrated in the case of the forested portions of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, where the sweep of the dry Chinook winds is checked, and the snow remains on the ground much longer than on exposed areas, where a foot of snow may entirely disappear in two or three days without even wetting the soil. It has been demonstrated that wind may hasten the evaporation of moisture from four to ten fold. This explains why woodlands prevent the "drying out" of many agricultural crops growing on adjacent lands. In times of drought, when the forest floor has parted with its surface moisture, the large tap roots of the trees draw from the subterranean and concealed channels a vast supply for their own use, which is given off by the leaves into the air, to be precipitated as dew or rain.

The history of all ages and of all nations proves that a forest cover is the only reliable regulator of stream flow ; and, that when it is removed, disastrous floods, erosion of the soil, silting up of the navigable streams, a failure of agricultural crops, and a general impoverishment of the people, is sure to follow. By the destruction of their forests, Persia, Syria, Central Asia and the northern portion of Africa have long since

lost their productiveness. Once the garden spots of the world, where nature rewarded the labours of the cultivator with lavish profusion, they are now largely desolate and infertile regions, incapable of supporting a tithe of their former populations. All recognized authorities on climatology are practically agreed as to the immense influence of forests upon climate, and the almost irreparable injury inflicted upon the older centres of Eastern civilization by the destruction of the woods, which alone rendered the soil productive and capable of sustaining a large population. The economic importance of the forest as a regulator of stream flow, and as a preserver of soil fertility, is simply incalculable. A prosperous nation cannot be built up in a desert, nor can a people continue in power and influence when the territory from which they draw their sustenance shall have receded into barrenness by the ruthless destruction of the forest cover. Anything that tends to destroy the natural resources of a country strikes at the very foundations of prosperity. It is, therefore, a matter of the utmost economic importance to preserve the forest cover on the watersheds, so as to conserve the water supply and equalize the stream flow.

The water powers of Canada vastly excel those of any other country, and have been estimated to be equal to 40 per cent. of the total water power of the world. The preservation and proper utilization of this great national asset for the development of electric energy, for irrigation in the west, and for navigation in all parts of the Dominion, depends upon the preservation of the forest on all lands known to be unsuitable for agriculture.

There can be scarcely any doubt now that electric energy is to be the great motive power of the future, and that in many metallurgical operations it will play a leading part. Already something like 350,000 electric horse power have been developed in Canada, which, figured on a ten hour basis, means a saving of five tons of coal per year per horse power, or 1,750,000 tons of coal per year compared with an annual import of 6,000,000 tons. Most of this energy is developed near the centres of population, and represents an investment of from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000. As the resources of the country develop, the conversion of the potential energy of our magnifi-

cent waterfalls into electric energy for industrial purposes will become more and more of a necessity. In the great mineral belt known to exist in the Huronian rocks of Northern Ontario, and extending eastwards into Quebec, it is certain that much energy will be developed for mining purposes, and for the reduction of the ores. Recent experiments at Sault St. Marie seem to prove that magnetic iron ore can be reduced in an electric furnace, at a cost that compares most favorably with the present methods of reducing hematite. As there are immense deposits of magnetite in this north country, and the whole region abounds in waterfalls, it will therefore be seen that the possibilities of Ontario's becoming one of the great iron producing countries of the world are exceedingly bright. She is already a great producer of nickle and copper, and great things are expected at Cobalt in the way of silver and cobalt. With the development of electric energy, many of these ores can doubtless be reduced on the spot, employment given to a whole army of skilled workmen, and great industries built up. The Temiscamingue and Northern Ontario Railway people are considering the advisability of developing power for traction purposes, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company believes it will pay it to instal electric locomotives on its line between Ottawa and Quebec. Near the twin towns of Port Arthur and Fort William, is the enormous water power of the Kaministiquia river, which will doubtless be used for the milling of North-West wheat, for traction and for mining. These towns will soon merge into a great city, which is destined to become a distributing point for the enormous volume of wheat brought to it by the Canadian Pacific, Canadian Northern, Grand Trunk Pacific, and other transcontinental lines which will surely be built as the great west becomes settled. As there are no coal formations within hundreds of miles of Port Arthur, the cost of steam power is rather high as compared with that of electricity. The proper treatment of the water powers of the surrounding country is therefore a matter of vital importance. With proper treatment, the Kaministiquia will yield 70,000 electric horse power ; and the water powers of the Nipigon river are only 65 miles distant. If Niagara power can be delivered in Toronto (about 80 miles distant) at \$17.00 per horse power per year,

then Nipigon power can probably be delivered at Fort William for \$15.00. Winnipeg has already electricity at \$13.00 per horse power, and the Saskatchewan and its various tributaries possess an enormous amount of energy only awaiting development ; so if Ontario does not begin the development of her magnificent water powers without delay, the west will soon become the manufacturing centre of the Dominion. With electric locomotives on the railways throughout our great coniferous forests the danger from fire in dry weather would be reduced to a minimum, and the forests retained both as a source of revenue and as stream regulators.

In the eastern part of the Dominion, the problem of water transportation is of great importance in getting our lumber and grain to market, and large sums have been spent for the construction and maintenance of our canal systems. With the destruction of the forested areas, the spring floods have increased to such an extent in some places, that if the lumberman does not get his drive out during the few days that the flood lasts he suffers great loss. In the St. John River, New Brunswick, there are now aground 25,000,000 feet of lumber that should have come out last spring ; and from the upper Ottawa, the drives sometimes require three years to reach the mills along the lower Ottawa. Probably ten per cent of the white and red pine becomes water-logged and is lost to the owners by these vexatious delays, which would be largely overcome by the adoption of less destructive methods of lumbering than have been pursued. What applies to the driving of timber, also applies to the maintenance of the water levels in our canals, some of which are known to have less water than when they were first constructed.

In southern Alberta many semi-arid districts have been converted into fertile tracts by the construction of irrigation canals and ditches. The eastern slope of the Rockies and the foothills adjoining them constitute the great watershed of the region, which was originally well covered with timber, and in spite of devastating fires and wasteful lumbering is still fairly well forested. If the destruction of the timber is allowed to go on, the inevitable result will be violent floods in spring and severe droughts in summer when the moisture is most needed

for irrigation. At present there are 170 irrigation ditches and canals, constructed at a cost of \$3,500,000, with a total length of 475 miles, and capable of irrigating 625,000 acres. When the undertaking is completed, there will be at least 700 miles of canals, costing over \$7,000,000, and capable of irrigating 2,000,000 acres. These great works will stretch from Calgary almost to Medicine Hat, and will be rendered almost worthless if the forest cover is not retained in the foothills. If the total available water supply of the region is utilized, not more than fifteen per cent of the area can be irrigated, and the remainder must for all time be devoted to ranching and pastoral pursuits. At McLeod, where it formerly took twenty acres to carry a steer, irrigation has produced from fifty to sixty bushels of wheat per acre, and at Lethbridge where a treeless plain formerly existed, there may be seen miles of trees growing beside the irrigation canals and lateral ditches. As in the states and territories to the south of us, the irrigation of the semi-arid regions of Alberta will be followed by tree-planting on an extensive scale, and soon mark a line of thriving timber across areas now producing nothing but grass. The enormous interests that will ultimately depend upon a reliable and steady flow of water in these irrigation canals and ditches will in turn be absolutely dependent upon the preservation of the forest cover on the eastern slope of the Rockies and the adjoining foothills, where the land is useless for agricultural or grazing purposes.

Whether we discuss the importance of regulating the flow of water in our streams from the standpoints of power, development, water transportation, or of irrigation, it is evident that the preservation and utilization of our forests on the non-agricultural lands is the best possible solution of the whole question.

A. H. D. Ross.

THE CASUAL READER OF ZARATHUSTRA.

JUST twenty-one years ago Nietzsche's chief work, "Thus Spoke Zarathustra," came from the press. People had not then made much headway in the task of emancipating themselves from what we may call the Fetichism of the Written Word. Nietzsche himself, and his "disciples", paid the utmost reverence to every lightest word which came from his master pen. There was a finality about every sentence, which transcended even Pilate's "What I have written, I have written." We are not so. We have seen too many acres of forest land denuded, too much good spruce chopped and boiled, ironed into fair sheets, and marred in the press, to be willing any longer to do homage to our oldest fetich. We have become casual readers, picking up, dipping into, laying down unconvinced, yet the more keenly enjoying what of skill and beauty, of reticence and revelation, of light and shadow, we may find.

Nietzsche sets the primal conception of the work into 1881, when at Engadin, during a long walk through the woods, the "first flash of the Zarathustra-idea", the idea of the Eternal Recurrence, flared. His "Joyous Science" "contains hundred-fold intimations of the nearness of something incomparable", and at its close lets us see "the adamant beauty of the first words of Zarathustra gleam." He can rhyme prettily, too, concerning the inception of his "incomparable song", roughly somewhat thus in English lines:

"I sat there waiting, waiting, yet content,
Beyond all Good and Evil, now intent
On light, and now on shadow, nought but play,
But sea, but endless time, but noon of day,
At once, then, Dear One, One became a pair,
And Zarathustra glided by me there."

We are not concerned now with Nietzsche's "System" of Philosophy, with his "Ring of Recurrence", with his "Will to Power", with his "Antichrist". We do not care for theories. We have changed all that. We are held rather by the Poet,

the Seer of Visions, the man who with Paul bids us "desire all spiritual gifts, but rather that you may prophesy".

Almost everyone nowadays, who reads Frederick Nietzsche for the first time, inevitably carries into his reading strong prejudices against the man and all he stands for. He was a man given to aphorisms, and truly his best sayings rise up in judgment against him. He was a master of fence in the "Sword of the Word", so perhaps it is just that he shall appear to fall by the same sword. No one approaches him with an unbiased mind. Few writers have been the object of so much acrimonious controversy. He provoked attack on all sides, yet solicited succour from the most unexpected quarters. Floods of printer's ink have failed to swamp him, but they have failed as well to land him on the top of the Ararat where his worshippers fondly imagine him to be. The action of these floods of ink has as usual been an erosive one. They have carried down much detritus to the sea, and even here and there formed pleasant bottom lands, but in the main they have but bared the everlasting perishable hills, and left the man Nietzsche upstanding in his crudity until time shall soften his outlines.

He offends all degrees. We who have religious tendencies and feel the beauty and power of the instinct are perhaps the greatest sufferers. We know, by reading clever reviewers, certain of his sayings degraded into vulgar catch-phrases. "God is dead" is one of them which is dinned into our ears, and of course we are properly shocked, for we do not hear the antidote aphorism, "As far as gods are concerned, death is but a prejudice."

For those whose hope lies in Science, it is irritating to learn that Nietzsche looks upon scientific men as men whose whole kingdom is comprised in the brain of a leech, whose conscientiousness of the mind will have it that they must know one thing and be ignorant of all else.

Those who give their lives to the cause of education and literature read with unspeakable disgust such sentences as, "Whoso knows the reader does no more for the reader". "The fact that nowadays everybody may learn to read and write will in time spoil not only literature but thought as well".

"Another century of reading, and genius itself will become noisome". Yet he has some comfort for these too, as we may see.

Moralists are grieved to hear the words "Nothing is true, Everything is permitted". And they seldom read far enough to receive this comfort :

"Truly I took away from you your hundred words, the dearest playthings of your virtue, and now you are cross with me as children are cross.

They played by the sea,—the wave came and snatched away their toys into the deep,—now they cry.

But the same wave shall bring them new playthings, and scatter out new bright shells before them.

So they shall be comforted, and so you too, my friends, shall have your comforting and your new bright shells."

Furthermore, Nietzsche suffers much at the hands of his faithful and hard-working translators. The poem called *Zarathustra* is set in a key which is not reproducible on all instruments, except by the most skilled and patient performers. Here it must be transposed, and there reharmonized. There is a flavour of antiquity which is obtained, not by the use of obsolescent phrases, but by a skillful blending and differentiating of all the elements of a great speech. Here is employed not the language of yesterday, nor yet the cumbrous, involved style of the German of to-day, but the airy, simple, exquisite, satisfying idiom of to-morrow and the day after.

To take a plain illustration. The translators observed this elusive antique flavor ; they found the singular of the second personal pronoun used frequently, and forthwith translated it with "thou". Of course they got a certain effect of antiqueness, but what an obvious one. They use such words as *hast*, *doeth*, *goeth*, *spake*, *wentest*, and what not else which are so unwelcome to our ears, although their analogs are perfectly good German usage. The effect of Nietzsche's diction lies much deeper, as we may come to see.

For English readers the best translation is one by Alexander Tille, of the University of Glasgow, and in spite of many

such lesser defects has a simplicity and laborious fidelity to the original which is sufficiently creditable. It is plainly a translation. It is by no means asserted that the extracts put forth here are perfect in style and rhythm. Yet they preserve the spirit of the original, and reproduce, where possibly consistent with literalness, that fanciful word-play in which Philologist Nietzsche was so pleasing an adept.

Most of all, finally, the man suffers and will yet suffer, though now dead these five years, from the malady which actually ended his natural life. This malady overtook him some fifteen years ago, and has since served as a peg for pathologists to hang their theories on, from foolish, carping, clever Nordau and Lou Salomé, down to reviewers and readers of the present day. It is amusing to observe the lengths to which such special pleaders will go to sustain their argument. In the Boston public library, for example, you may come across an article in a review on the subject of this paper. The article will be carefully marked by some reader at all the passages which might be construed into a support of the Theory of Insanity. Some of these will be,—Headaches, short-sightedness, an attack of diphtheria while serving in the Franco-Prussian war, a blow on the head at some time or another, a strange look in the eyes, and what not. You will be much pleased to find in the library of Queen's University the same passages similarly marked in the same article.

We have nothing to do with this, however, because it is mainly as a poet that Nietzsche must be regarded, and we know there are innumerable analogies. Milton was blind, yet he wrote excellent and illuminating verse. Shelley was most delicate in his lyrics, though not in his morals, and Wilde, though utterly unspeakable, is yet fascinatingly readable, and to many disappointingly clean.

Coming now to the work in hand, and for the most part letting Zarathustra speak for himself, which he is in no wise loath to do, if he can get anyone to listen, one prefers, for the sake of continuity, to present a theme in its entirety rather than a collection of brilliant aphorisms taken from their settings; that form of clever folly being well attended to by many another. One prefers to keep back the best of this, which is

"A book for all and none", but yet show a casual picture here and there from no meagre gallery.

The poem opens with a fine *Andante* movement, which is in general continued through the first book,—there are four in all. The tempo gradually increases, with conscious art, until in the last book we have a most vehement dithyrambic movement, which imperceptibly sinks into a sombre minor key, and ends with a few triumphant major cadences. The whole composition is interspersed with brilliant arpeggios, sweet lyrics like the *Dance Song*, and the *Night Song*, "the loneliest of all *Night Songs*",—sad arias such as the *Song of Graves*, beginning "Yonder is the isle of graves, yonder, too, are the graves of my youth ; thither will I bear an evergreen wreath of life"

The opening movement, Zarathustra's *Exordium*, is as follows :—

When Zarathustra was thirty years old he left his native land and its sea, and went up into the mountains. There he joyed in his spirit and his solitude, and for the space of ten years did not grow tired. But at length his heart was changed, and one morning he rose up with the dawn, stood before the Sun, and spoke to it in this wise :

"Great Lightgiver ! What were your happiness had you none to lighten !"

"During ten years you came up to my cave ; you had become wearied of your light and of this journey were it not for me, my eagle and my serpent."

"But we awaited you each morning, took of your abundance, and blessed you for it."

"See, I am oppressed by my wisdom ; like the bee which has gathered too great store of honey, I, too, must have hands stretched out to me."

"I would give and divide until the wise among men rejoice once again in their foolishness and the poor once again in their riches."

"To this end I must go down into the deep ; as you do at eventide, when you go beyond the sea and yet bring light to the nether world, abundant lightgiver."

"I must, like you, sink, as men call it ; and to them I will descend."

"Bless me then, tranquil eye, which can view never so great a happiness without envy."

"Bless the cup which is ready to overflow, so that its water shall flow forth in golden streams and shall bear everywhere the glow of your rapture. See this cup cries out to become empty once more and Zarathustra to become once more man."

"Thus began Zarathustra's descent."

Zarathustra, having resolved to mingle with men again, proclaims in vivid tones his doctrine of the Superman. This portion serves as a sort of text for the whole book. It is written in the most simple style ; scarcely a complex sentence in it ; a free use of the compound sentence, which is so effective in the Jewish writings, though perhaps somewhat stiff to our finicky twentieth century ears.

When Zarathustra came into the nearest city which lies by the woods he found there much people gathered together on the market-place ; for it had been proclaimed that a rope-dancer was to be seen. And Zarathustra spoke to the people thus :

I bring you the gospel of the Superman. Man is something that is to be overcome. What have you done to overcome him?

All beings up till now created something beyond themselves ; and will you be the ebb of this great tide and rather revert to the beast than transcend the man?

How does man regard the ape ? As a jest or a biting shame. And even so shall the Superman regard man, as a jest or a biting shame.

You have traveled the road from worm to man, and there is much in you that is yet worm. Once you were apes, and even now man is more ape than the veriest ape.

But even he who is wisest among you is but the mongrel progeny of mismated vegetable and ghost. But do I bid you become ghosts or vegetables ?

Look you, I bring you the Gospel of the Superman.
The Superman is the meaning of the earth. Let
your will affirm ; the Superman *be* the meaning of the
earth.

Truly, man is a foul stream. One must be a sea to
be able to receive a foul stream without becoming un-
clean.

See, I bring you the Gospel of the Superman ; he
is this sea ; in him your great contempt can be sub-
merged.

What is the greatest thing you can feel ?

It is the hour of the great despising, the hour in
which your joy turns to loathing, and likewise your
reason and your virtue.

The hour in which you say, What avails my hap-
piness? It is poverty and filth and a pitiable content-
ment. But my happiness should justify existence it-
self.

The hour in which you say, What avails my rea-
son? Does it lust for knowledge as the lion for his
food? It is poverty and filth and a pitiable contentment.

The hour in which you say, What avails my
virtue? It has not yet made me rage. How weary I
am of my good and evil. It is all poverty and filth and
a pitiable contentment.

The hour in which you say, What avails my right-
eousness? I do not see that I am a coal of fire. But
the righteous is a coal of fire.

The hour in which you say, What avails my com-
passion? Is not compassion the cross on which he is
nailed who loves men? But my compassion is no cruci-
fixion.

Have you ever so spoken? Have you ever so
cried? Oh, that I had ever heard you so cry !

Not your sin,—your contentedness cries to heaven,
your niggardliness even in your sin cries out to heaven.

Where is the flash which shall lick you with its
tongue? Where is the frenzy with which you must be
imbued ?

See, I bring you the Gospel of the Superman. He is this flash, he is this frenzy.

When Zarathustra had spoken thus, some one from among the people cried, "We have heard enough of the rope-dancer, now let us see him". And all the people laughed at Zarathustra. But the rope-dancer, who thought he was meant, set himself about his work.

The while Zarathustra takes up his parable again :—

"Man is a rope stretched between Beast and Superman, a rope over an abyss.

"Dangerous to pass over, dangerous to be on the way, dangerous to look back, dangerous to hesitate and stand still.

"What is great in man is that he is a bridge and not a goal ; what can be loved in man is that he is a transition and a descent.

"I love those who do not seek a reason behind the stars to fall and be a victim, but who sacrifice themselves to the earth, that the earth may one day be the Superman's.

"I love him who lives to know, and who desires to know in order that the Superman may live.

"I love him who works and invents that he may build the Superman his house, and prepare him earth and beast and plant.

"I love him who loves his virtue, for virtue is will to descent, and an arrow of longing.

"I love him who spends his soul, who will have no thanks and gives none ; for he gives always and will not retain.

"I love him who ever casts golden words before his deed, and ever keeps more than he promises.

"I love him who chastens his god, because he loves his god, for he must fall by the wrath of his god.

"I love all those who are like heavy drops falling singly out of the dark cloud which hangs over man. They announce the coming of the lightning, and go down as messengers.

"Look you, I am a messenger of the lightning and a leaden drop out of the cloud ; but this flash of lightning is called Superman.

"It is time", he tells them further, "for man to set his goal. It is time for man to plant the seed of his highest hope.

"His soil is still rich enough ; but this soil will soon become poor and tame, and no lofty tree will be able to grow in it.

"The time will come when man shall no longer shoot the arrow of longing beyond man, when the string of his bow shall have forgotten to twang.

"I tell you, one must have chaos in himself to bring forth a dancing star.

"I tell you, you have yet chaos in you. Alas, the time will come when man will no more bring forth a dancing star. The time of the most despicable man will come who can no longer despise himself."

Perhaps the trend of Nietzsche's thought and philosophy is best illustrated by "The Three Metamorphoses", with which the first book opens.

I disclose to you three metamorphoses of the spirit ; how the spirit becomes a camel, the camel a lion, and the lion at last a child.

There are many things heavy for the spirit, the strong, laden spirit in which reverence dwells, its strength longs for the heavy and heaviest.

The capable spirit takes upon it all that is heaviest ; like the camel which hastens into the desert when it is loaded, the spirit hastens into its desert.

Some of these heaviest things being :

"To let one's folly shine forth in order to mock one's wisdom." "To leave *one's* cause when it is triumphant." "To live on the acorns and herbs of knowledge and suffer soul-hunger for the truth's sake." "To lie sick and send the comforters away, and to make friends with the deaf who never hear what one wishes."

"To love those who despise one, and give the hand to the spectre which would make us afraid."

"But the second metamorphosis takes place in the loneliest desert ; here the spirit becomes a lion, it will take freedom as a prey and be lord in its own desert.

"It seeks the last lord here ; it will be a foe to him and to its last lord ; it will strive with the great dragon for mastery.

What is the great dragon which the spirit can no longer call "Lord" and "God" ?

Thou Shalt is its name, but the lion's spirit says "I will".

"Thou Shalt" besets its way, gold-scaled, and on every scale "thou shalt" glows golden. Values of a thousand years glitter on its scales, and the mightiest of all dragons speaks ; "The whole value of things, that is what glitters on me." "There shall be no more 'I will'".

The lion cannot create new values, but its might can create for itself freedom for new creation and a holy No ! even towards duty. For this, my brothers, the lion is necessary. To assert the right to create new values is the frightfullest assertion for a patient and revering spirit. Truly to this spirit it is robbery and a matter for a beast of prey.

Once it loved "Thou Shalt" as its holiest, and now it must find illusion and arbitrariness even in its holiest, in order to acquire from its love, freedom. For this robbery the lion is necessary.

But, say, my brothers, what can the child do which even the lion could not do ? Why must the preying lion become a child ?

The child is innocence and a forgetting, a beginning anew, a play, a wheel rolling of itself, a holy assertion.

Yes, for the play of creating, my brothers, there must be a holy assertion, the spirit must have its own will ; he who is lost to the world wins his own world.

I disclosed to you three metamorphoses of the spirit,

how the spirit became a camel, and the camel a lion, and the lion at length a child.

This we can understand fairly well ; the parable evidently gives three great stages in the spiritual life of man, and gives them with some vigour and style. First, obedience, then denial, and afterwards spontaneity. And signs are not wanting, one thinks that we are entering the final stage even now, after wandering in the "scientific wilderness" for the past forty years listening to Huxley's "shrewd knocks" and giving heed to Spencer's owlsh fol-de-rol. We have had many lions of denial, among whom Nietzsche has not been at all backward in roaring and ravening, and have outlived them all, perhaps justifying his own theory of the "Ring of Recurrence" in again "becoming as little children".

On the meagerest filament of narrative are strung through the first three books, with amazing richness, vigour, picturesqueness, those subtle analyses of human motives, those tender pleadings to higher ideals, that denouncing of all that is mean and unworthy,—veritable gems on which Nietzsche's repute must mainly rest. The names of the headings suggest a freshness of view, an originality of treatment, which are so welcome to many a one. "Of the Pale Criminal", "Of the Flies of the Market", "Of the Way of the Creator", "Of the Three Evils", "Of Old and New Tables", "Of the Great Yearning", "The Seven Seals", and half a hundred other themes besides, are treated of with the fierce earnestness of an Isaiah, yet with the mocking laughter and dancing grace of Dionysus, the "god of fire and dew", who is the prototype of Zarathustra. One may perhaps single out "The stillest Hour", which closes the second book, as typical of Nietzsche's *genre*, wherein Zarathustra, Elijah-like, hears the whisper, "It is the stillest words which bring the storm. Thoughts which come with dove's feet rule the world."

It would be pleasant to linger over the "fourth and last" of these "ten day books" ; to follow Zarathustra as he searches for the "Higher Man" whose "cry of need" ever sounds in his ears yet ever eludes him. There are the "Two Kings", "The Ugliest Man", "The Voluntary Beggar", and others, all of whom Zarathustra bids to his cave, not knowing them to be

phases of the higher man ; we share in his surprise when on approaching his cave at eventide he hears the intensified wail of his assembled guests. But he has been strengthened by a noonday sleep, which calms his soul for what may come, even to beholding all his "higher men", having cast themselves loose from the bonds of tradition, philosophy, science and religion, fall down and worship the ass, say of Metaphysics.

This interlude of the noonday sleep is comparable with the opening scene in the second part of Faust. Read it :

And Zarathustra went on and on and found no man more, and was alone and always found himself again, and enjoyed and drank in his solitude and thought on good things, hour by hour.

At the time of noon, however, as the Sun stood directly overhead, he passed by an old gnarled and crooked tree, which was embraced by the rich love of a vine, and was hidden even from itself; yellow clusters hung down from it towards the wayfarer. Then he was minded to quench a slight thirst and to break off a cluster, but even as his arm was outstretched, he was minded still more strongly to another thing,—to lie down by the tree at the hour of full noon and sleep.

Zarathustra did so ; and so soon as he lay on the ground in the stillness and secrecy of the pied grass, he had already forgotten his small thirst and fell asleep. For, as a proverb of Zarathustra's has it, one thing is more pressing than the other.

Yet his eyes remained open,—they had not had their fill of watching and admiring the tree and the love of the vine.

But as he fell asleep he spoke thus to his heart :

"Peace! peace! did not the world just now become consummate? What can it be?

"As a dainty wind dances unseen on the tessellated sea, light, light as down, so sleep dances on me.

"It presses no eyelid shut, it leaves my soul awake; it is light, light as down,—how long and tired it is, my wonderful soul! Did the eventide of a seventh day come

to it just at mid-day? Did it stroll happily between good and ripe things too long?

"It stretches itself out long,—longer; it lies still, my wonderful soul. It has tasted too much good, this golden sadness oppresses it, it pouts.

"Like a ship which ran into its tranquilerest haven, now it rests on the earth, weary of long voyages and of the uncertain sea. Is not the earth more constant?

"As such a ship lies near the beach close-nestled, so close that a spider could spin her thread from the land to it,—no stronger hawser needed there.

"Like such a tired ship in stillest haven I rest near the earth, true, trusting, waiting, bound to it with lightest gossamer.

Oh, happiness! Oh, happiness! Will you then sing, oh, my soul? You lie in the grass. And it is the secret holy hour in which no shepherd plays his flute.

"Be in awe! Hot midday sleeps on the meadows. Do not sing. Peace! The world is consummate.

"Sing not, you grass-fowl, oh, my soul. Nay, whisper not; look, peace! old midday sleeps. Its lips move; does it not drink a drop of happiness,—an old brown drop of golden happiness, golden wine? A rustle is heard above it. Its happiness laughs; so laughs a god. Peace!

"Happiness, how little suffices for happiness! So I spoke once and deemed myself wise; but it was a profanation, as I have now learned; wise fools speak more wisely.

"It is just the littlest, the silentest, the lightest, the rustle of a lizard, a breath, a hush; of such littleness is the best happiness. Peace!

"What happened to me, hark! Did time itself fly away? Do I not fall,—did I not fall, hark! into the source of eternity?

What is it? Peace! It stabs me—alas—in the heart? In the heart! Oh, break, break, my heart, after such happiness, after such a stab!

"What? Did not the world just now become con-

summate? Round and ripe? Oh, for the gold, round rim,—where flies it? Shall I run after it? Hush!

“Peace. . . . (and here Zarathustra stretched himself and felt that he slept).

“Up”, said he to himself, “you sleeper, you noon-day sleeper, up, up, you old limbs, time and high time, many a rough piece of road is yet before you.

“You have slept, how long? A half eternity. Up, up, then, my old heart! How long can you not remain awake after such a sleep?

(But here he fell asleep anew, and his soul spoke against him, and righted itself and laid itself down again).

“Let me be! Peace, was not the world just now consummate? Oh, for the gold round ball!”

“Arise”, spoke Zarathustra, “you little pilfer-maiden, you little day-thief! What! Always stretching, yawning, sighing, falling into deep sources? Who are you? Oh, my soul! (And here he started, for a ray fell from heaven on his face).

“Oh, sky above me”, sighed he and sat up, “you see me? You listen to my wonderful soul?

“When shall you sip this drop of dew which fell on all earth things? When shall you sip this wondrous soul? When—source of eternity! Wide-awake, awesome, midday void, when shall you drink my soul back into yourself?”

Thus spoke Zarathustra and raised himself from his couch by the tree, like one out of a strange intoxication; and lo! there stood the sun ever yet just above his head.

One might rightly conclude from that that Zarathustra had not slept very long.

It would be unconventional to write of this author without giving samples of his aphorisms. Here is a page of them for those who care for the etiolated pallor of such “gems of thought”.

“You call yourself free! I would hear what is

your ruling thought and not that you have cast off a yoke.

"Are you one who *ought* to cast off a yoke? Many a one threw away his last shred of usefulness when he threw away his subordination.

"Freedom *from* what? What do I care for that? Your eye must answer brightly, freedom to what?"

"Many die too late, and a few die too soon, but it still sounds strange to say "Die at the right time". True, how can one who has never lived a timely life die a timely death? It were better for him that he had never been born.

"Stop, being eaten when you taste the best. Those who will be loved long know that.

"Write with blood, so what you write will be *read*.

"Whoso writes in proverbs must be not read but learned by heart.

"In the mountains the shortest way is from peak to peak, but you must have long legs. Proverbs are peaks, and those to whom they are spoken, towering giants.

"It is a small thing to remove mountains. Learn to build with mountains.

"I would only believe in a god who could dance.

"You shall love peace as means to new wars, and the short peace more than the long.

"You say it is the good cause which can sanctify a war. I tell you it is the good war which sanctifies every cause."

His best argument against the existence of God is :

"To lay bare my whole heart, my friends, if there were gods, how could I endure it not to be a god? Therefore, there are no gods".

"What would there be left to create if there were gods?

"Oh, man ! a statue sleeps in the block of stone which I am. Oh, that it must sleep in the hardest, unpleasingest stone.

"Now my hammer rages ruthless against its prison ; fragments fly from the stone, what care I ?

"I will finish it, for a shadow came to me, the stillest and lightest of all things came to me. The beauty of the Superman came to me a shadow. Oh, my brothers, what can gods concern me now?"

Whatever one may think of the influence of Nietzsche on modern thought and literature, and it is no inconsiderable influence for good or evil, one cannot fail to concede to him many admirable qualities, not the least of which, to the casual reader, is that "Genius of the Heart" which the author of *Zarathustra* attributes to Dionysus, that is to himself.
 "The Genius of the Heart, as it is possessed by that great unknown, whose voice descends into the nether world of every soul, who speaks no word, sends no glance in which some allusion and snare of allurements does not lie, whose Leadership it is that he can appear,—not what he is, but a new impulse to those who follow him to press ever nearer to him, to follow him more truly and thoroughly,—the genius of the heart which quiets all that is loud and self-complacent, and teaches it to listen, which polishes rough souls and gives them to taste of a new need,—to lie still as a mirror that the deep sky may be reflected in them. The Genius of the Heart, which teaches the gawky and astonished hand to hesitate and grasp more prettily, which divines the hidden and forgotten treasure, the drop of goodness and of sweet spirituality under dull thick ice ; a divining rod for every grain of gold which lay long imprisoned in much muck, the Genius of the Heart, from whose touch every one goes away richer, not as favoured and wondering, not as if blessed and pressed by alien good, but richer in himself, fresher than before, fallow, breathed on by dewy airs, less sure perchance, gentler, more fragile, more fractured, but full of hopes which have yet no name, full of new insistence and surging to, full of new desistance and surging fro.

ALEXANDER MACPHAIL.

CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE.

[CONTINUED.]

THE struggle of the anti-clericals is almost avowedly against supernatural or revealed religion in any shape. "If God Himself were to appear before the multitude in palpable form, the first duty of man would be to refuse him obedience, and to consider him as an equal with whom matters can be discussed, not as a master to whom one submits—herein lies the beauty of our lay education," said M. Jaurés in the *Chambre des Députés* in 1895. To catch the ear of the mob demagogues shout louder and louder. Jaurés is already looked on by the extremists as a reactionary. At the recent Congress of Free Thinkers in Paris, some of the language used recalls that of Anacharsis Cloutz and the Hébertists at the Revolution.

The methods by which the teaching, charitable, and contemplative orders were involved in a common doom can be justified only on the plea of *salus reipublicæ suprema lex*.

"Although the loon was well away,
The deed was foully done,"

said Sir David Lindsay of the murder of Cardinal Beaton. Nor can a Canadian admit the necessity of the clean sweep which has been made. To take upon an already overburdened state the whole burden of education, of charity, of care for the sick, the insane, the physically, mentally, and morally incapable; to spurn the help of those who are eager to give it; to drive into antagonism so vast a moral force as the Roman Catholic Church; to uproot rather than to prune; to destroy rather than to restrain and guide; is surely a counsel of despair. Where, save in religion, are we to get on a great scale the self-sacrifice, the heroism, the abnegation necessary to a great state? The yearly report of the Academy, which administers certain bequests providing rewards for deeds of self-abnegation, testifies that of practically all the deeds rewarded or discussed, the motives were religious. What force save religion can keep the masses up to a not unendurable position? Whence

shall the State draw the enormous sums of money now contributed from religious motives? The only other power which has ever lifted masses of men above their natural selfishness is patriotism, and the State is assuming this vast new burden just when the tax-payer is already groaning beneath his load, when old age pensions and compulsory State aid for the unemployed are looming in the distance, and when—most dangerous of all—one of the chief bodies which has aided in sweeping away the Church, is also weakening the national patriotism. The French Socialists are avowedly “Internationalists”. M. Hervé, a member of their executive committee, has already declared his desire to hurl the flag of France into a dung-hill, and at a crowded meeting declared amid applause that it war be declared against Germany, not a Socialist soldier will march, and that he will welcome the slight inconvenience of a German conquest of France if, only so, can such an absurd anachronism as a frontier line be swept away. The lay State is thus preparing for fresh calls upon the patriotism of the people just when that patriotism is being sapped and mined*.

Thus while Socialists proclaim that Catholics are the black militia of a foreign foe, the clericals are becoming identified with the army and with the “Nationalists”. Of course, M. Aristide Briand does not state his theory quite in this way. He never speaks of Catholicism as being incompatible with patriotism, but of “the abyss which separates Romanism and modern civilisation.” Catholicism and civilization, he regards as two organisms once united, but which are evolving into forms more and more unlike, and which can only end in absolute separation. As one who has cast in his lot with modern civilization, he must decline to have its powers infringed upon by any other body. The State is evolving in the

*Yet the Socialists are undoubtedly the most tolerant and the most high-minded of the Church's foes. Their leaders are men of high morality and noble purpose, and in no way open to Bossuet's sneer that scepticism is usually caused by inability to live up to the Church's ethical standard. Their creed has the same great advantage as Catholicism, of viewing human life as a whole, of binding men into a society wide as the world, of teaching that no man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. One would fain be optimistic enough to hope that a morality depending upon self-respect (*le respect pour soi-même*) and free from any system of pains and penalties, can long control *la bête humaine* in the rank and file as effectually as it certainly does in the leaders.

direction of laicisation, popular government, socialism : the Roman Church is theocratic, autocratic, and if allowed any share in modern public life can only "eat as doth a canker". Such a conception of religion might possibly be accepted by a Plymouth Brother, but is of course utterly unacceptable to a church which has always claimed universal rule, and which is social, if not socialistic. The cry of Montalembert, goes on in effect M. Briand, for a free state in a free church, overlooks the fact that there is really no such thing in a free State as a free corporation. To the reply of the Church, that all she demands is the common law, the reply is that the Church has always shown a tendency to claim the privileges of the common law, but on finding its responsibilities irksome, to appeal to her special rights as the foundation of Heaven ; and that for every corporation it is found necessary to make special laws, for insurance companies, for theatres, for confectioners, how much more for so powerful a corporation as the Roman Church ? If the Church replies that its functions are spiritual, and do not interfere with the temporal government, the answer is that liberty of conscience and liberty of worship are assured, but that as the Church has so often, in times past, interfered in temporal matters, and as there is so large a debatable land into which clerical marauders are persistently making inroads, it is very important that a Warden of the Marches with full powers should be appointed. "On the wisdom of our provisions," says in effect M. Briand, "we are willing to argue. Both in committee and in the Chamber we have already, owing to your representations, made numerous changes. But on the principle of the necessity of special legislation for the Church our mind is made up."

"It is then possible," says the Roman Catholic, "for any layman, however extreme, however great a faddist, to open any of the numerous institutions which have of recent years sprung up in Paris, to teach systems of philosophy or of political science as subversive of the present system of government as the most extreme principles of theocracy, and to be either approved of or winked at. But the most enlightened, the wisest, the most moderate of priests, is to be forbidden to open any school, or to give instruction save to a limited number of pupils

for the priesthood. No matter how urgent the desire of the parent, he is not to be allowed to have his children brought up in a Catholic atmosphere."

The reply of M. Briand and of M. Combes is that, as Waldeck Rousseau said, "a State must be constantly, perseveringly and necessarily anti-clerical. This is not so much a policy as a state of mind necessary before any true policy can be enunciated." The right to teach and to choose teachers for the young belongs not to the parent but to the nation. A monk, having given up his will to a foreign power, becomes unfit to teach the children of the State. Clericalism is as contradictory to the theories on which modern civilisation is based as immorality or idiocy, and a cleric is no more fit to teach than an idiot or a debauchée. In reply to the fine saying of Montalembert that "in a free State liberty must be the rule, interference the exception, and only when of proved necessity," that "the first right of a father is to choose the education of his child,"* M. Combes and the Socialists, tyrants to the backbone, cite the motto of Victor Cousin, "the right to teach is a delegation from the State to the individual."

On the other hand it is idle to deny that the Church has in large measure herself to blame. The fanatical hatred felt towards her by the Free Masons has been brought about by clerical persecution and misrepresentation.† Clerical interference in elections has gone to lengths unknown even in the Province of Quebec. It is claimed that the power of the confessional has been used to set wife against husband. Intellectually the Church's philosophy of substance and attribute is, if not obsolete, at least out of fashion. Her conception of the miraculous shocks minds taught to believe in the reign of universal law. The worship of the saints assumes forms at once revolting and ludicrous to the Protestant mind. At present that of St. Anthony of Padua, who is under the especial patronage of the Assumptionists, is fashionable. He helps students through their examinations; he finds lost bunches of

*Compare the saying of Guizot, "Where teaching is concerned children belong to their parents before they belong to the State."

†A priest has been heard to say from the Professor's chair that the death of Louis XVI was really decreed not by the National Convention, but by a lodge of Free Masons at Vienna.

keys; he provides lodgers for needy landlords; ladies of easy virtue have been known to invoke his assistance to keep their lovers faithful and generous. While such absurdities are no part of the Catholic faith, the parish clergy cannot in many cases be acquitted of encouraging them. Devout laymen have by no means the respect for the moral character of the priesthood which every unprejudiced man must feel for the noble parish clergy of Quebec. The stories of priestly incontinence may be baseless, and are certainly exaggerated, but the extent to which they are told is a sign of the utter absence of respect which prevails.

The project of M. Briand as amended by the *Chambre des Députés* has in its favour that it pleases neither the extreme Catholics nor the extreme anti-Clericals. It aims to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; to prevent clericalism, which may be defined as the political interference of any organized religious body. But while taking away from the Church all right to concern herself with matters of education or of charity, every attempt has been made to leave her free within the realm of religious life and thought.

(1) Liberty of conscience is assured to every citizen. All State, departmental or communal,* subsidies to any religious body for any purpose are forbidden, save where necessary to maintain religious services in such public institutions as hospitals or prisons. This exception was added to the bill as it passed through the house, and provoked furious outbursts from the extreme Radicals.

(2) Religious associations are to be formed within the lapse of one year, to which are to be handed over the property formerly devoted to religious purposes within the circumscription comprised by the association. Any such property not claimed before a certain period may be devoted by the *Commune* to charitable objects.

(3) These associations may unite and form a central administration, which may accumulate a reserve fund, the amount of which, however, is strictly limited. The Associations are

*For administrative purposes France is divided into 87 Departments, and these into about 86,000 Communes.

subject to all the provisions of the law of July, 1901. They must submit to the Finance Department of the State, and to their own members, an annual financial statement of all their possessions, receipts and disbursements. They may inherit only for such fixed and definite purposes as the keeping up of masses for the souls of the dead. Other legacies are forbidden; "la commission a redouté la creation de puissances financières excessives." (Briand, p. 316.)

The granting of power to form a central administration was bitterly resisted by the Extremists, who wished to confine each association within the limits of a département, thus rendering it weak in itself and unable to have any affiliation with Rome. Their avowed hope was to break up the church into fragments. "Opus schismaticum," said Pius X when the original bill of M. Combes was presented to him. But the Protestants, hitherto neutral or favourable, vigorously protested against a clause which would have struck with special force their scattered ranks. Public opinion declared that the measure must be framed on statesmanlike lines, and not made the vehicle of party rancour. M. Rouvier, the present Premier, allowed unions to be formed within a circle comprising not more than ten departments, and M. Briand wisely allowed the union to be national in its scope. As he told the Radical Extremists, anything else would have meant an underhand union, responsible solely to the Papacy. Liberty of conscience would have been violated, and worse than uselessly. There is now a possibility, faint though it be, of a Gallican Council.

A still greater triumph was won by the Church party when in the clause regulating the transfer of property to the newly formed "Association for religious purposes" the words were added: "these associations must conform to the rules of the general religious association, whose continued exercise it is their aim to assure." (Projet de loi, Article 4 *bis* "qui en se conformant aux règles d'organisation générale du culte dont elles se proposent d'assurer l'exercice, etc.") These words were added by the statesmanlike Pressensé, with the consent of Briand, but against the furious clamours of the extreme radicals. "We have never desired," said Briand, "to tear her property from the Catholic Church to offer it as a premium on

schism. If a priest or a bishop wishes to regain his liberty, it is his right. But in leaving the house of the Church, I refuse to allow him the right to carry away its furniture."

(4) Should more than one association claim the property involved, the Conseil d'État* shall decide. This is another concession won by the Moderates while the bill was passing through the house. The Briand project had given the decision in each case to a local tribunal, and the Radicals had hoped in some cases at least to form a schismatic association, to which they could force the local authorities to assign the property. The Conseil d'État will be less easily manipulated.

(5) Church buildings anterior to the Concordat of 1801 become the property of the State. Subject, however, to certain easily fulfilled regulations, all Churches shall be freely and forever placed at the disposition of the religious associations. Other such buildings now used for religious purposes (Episcopal residences, rectories, vicarages, etc.) may, after the period of from two to five years, be used by the State for any purpose whatsoever. Buildings erected since 1801 lapse to their proprietors.

This clause was the subject of long and heated discussions. Even in so comparatively liberal a measure as the Briand project, all church buildings whatever, erected prior to the Concordat of 1801, passed to the State. There was no legal guarantee that the cathedrals of Paris or of Rheims might not be turned into glue factories, or sold to American hunters of curios. Leading Radicals openly boasted of their intention to turn them into museums and concert halls. This sacrilege has now been averted, and while the vicarages are not quite out of danger, it is probable that they will be leased at a moderate rental to their present occupants. The gorgeous blasphemy of turning Notre Dame into an opera house tickled the imagination of the extreme anti-clericals; they will almost certainly disdain the plebian revenge of secularising a mere dwelling house.

(6) Pensions are given; to priests, ministers and rabbis over sixty for life; to others for a term of years.

*An Advisory Council to which no British or Canadian institution corresponds. See *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ninth edition) Vol. IX, p. 509.

(7) All church services or meetings must be public. In no religious edifice may any political meeting be held. Public religious processions, funerals, the ringing of church bells, are to be regulated by the municipality (this local option may produce some curious anomalies. The Extremists had sought to totally prohibit such practices.) No public religious emblems are allowed save on church buildings, in cemeteries, and for historical and æsthetic purposes in museums.

(8) Penalties are imposed on any direct or indirect attempt to drive anyone to church, or to keep him from attendance thereat by threats, violence or intimidation ; against any seditious or inflammatory sermon ; and against any attempt to break up a religious meeting by violence or unseemly conduct.

What is to be the end ? The Catholic Church has had so marvellous a history, has shown so wonderful a power of rising superior to hardship and to persecution, has adapted herself to such various conditions, and has forced so many different civilizations to adapt themselves to her, is rich in so much which human nature craves, that he would be a rash man who predicted the termination of her influence or even of her triumphs. "Take care," said Count Beugnot to the Senate at the crisis of the universit  struggle, "the Church is an anvil that has worn out many a hammer." Once again she may draw strength from persecution, reconcile her philosophy with modern demands, purge away her dross and her abuses, and again stand forth as the champion of the higher life and the purer ideal. Even now she opens many doors through which the wayward may pass. In the last fifteen years Bruneti re has entered through the intellectual portal, Paul Bourget through the moral, J. K. Huysmans through the æsthetic. But though there is within her ranks a broad church party, which seeks to combine the christianity of Charlemagne and of St. Bernard with the teachings of modern science and modern criticism, and which looks on the council of Trent as the first wrong step in the path which has led the church to become only the most powerful of sects, her tendency in these days of storm and stress is to grow ever narrower and more rigid, to hold aloof in haughty and sectarian isolation.

Even so, she is still a power. The most noticeable feature

of the educational struggle has been that whenever the conditions were at all equal, her schools proved more popular than those of the State. Hampered by legislation and by unfriendly officials, they grew so greatly that Combes was constrained to tell his followers that if the axe were not now laid to the root of the tree, in ten years it would be too late, for education would be in the hands of the clericals. This may have been an exaggeration, designed to solidify his somewhat heterogeneous majority, but the rapid and constant growth of the teaching congregations under the most unfavourable auspices is undoubted.

In French Protestantism there is little hope. Its half million members are serious and devout ; but French Protestantism had its chance in the sixteenth century and failed. Persecution, though it could not stamp them out, turned them into a sect, and a very polemical sect. They have shown the almost incurable weakness of Protestantism and are divided into at least four not always harmonious bodies. "We are not afraid of the Protestants," said to me an educated Catholic, "what we fear is Socialism. The Socialist has grasped the truth that man can only realize himself as the member of an universal society. Your individualistic Protestant, with his eyes fixed on his own salvation, represents an obsolete and inadequate conception."

A solution may yet be found along the line of a Christian Socialism, adopting the great truths of the Church of Rome, while yet yielding fair play to the legitimate activities of the human spirit. France cannot afford to let the Vatican prevail. Still less can she afford to do without religion.* The time seems ripe for a new interpretation of the old gospel, for a Christianity which shall wage war only against the world, the flesh and the devil ; which shall teach as firmly as the Church of Rome that we are all members of a great brotherhood, with our first duty not to ourselves but to our church ; and which shall also teach that every man must bear his own burden, and that

*"By an insensible and slow backward movement the great rural mass like the great urban mass, is gradually going back to paganism." Quoted with approval from Taine by M. Gabriel Hanotaux, in "*La France Contemporaine*," Vol. II (1904).

**"None may reach by hired speech of neighbour, priest and kin,
Through borrowed deed to God's good meed that lies so fair within."**

**Along these lines many of the finest intellects in France
are to-day struggling.**

W. L. GRANT.

November, 1905.

TOTAL ECLIPSE IN SPAIN.

TOTAL eclipses of the sun send their ardent observers to all parts of the earth. This past summer, upon the invitation of Rear Admiral C. M. Chester, U.S.N., Superintendent of the Naval Observatory, the writer became a member of the party equipped and sent out by the United States government. The eclipse was visible early in the morning in Labrador, about noon in Spain, later in the day in Algiers, and still later in Egypt, the moon's shadow leaving the earth's surface at sunset at the shores of the Indian Ocean. In Labrador the period of time that the sun was entirely covered up by the moon was only about half the duration in Spain, and moreover the weather conditions in Canada were very doubtful, so that it was decided to send the American parties across the Atlantic.

Three men-of-war were put at the disposal of the admiral, the U.S.S. *Minneapolis*, U.S.S. *Dixie*, and U.S.S. *Cæsar*, the first named being the flagship of the squadron. The astronomers on board the *Minneapolis*, Eichelberger, Littell and Mitchell, had a delightful trip across the Atlantic.

We left New York City on July 3rd for Gibraltar. On the way we stopped for twenty-four hours at Ponta Delgada, in the island of San Miguel, within sight of where at "Flores in the Azores Sir Richard Grenville lay".

Gibraltar is one of the most interesting places in the world. It was a glorious sight, as we steamed in at dawn on July 17th, to behold the wonderful Rock, and sheltered at its base the Mediterranean squadron of the British navy, consisting of eight battleships and eight first-class cruisers, under that splendid Englishman, Admiral Lord Charles Beresford. The morning of our arrival was spent in firing and acknowledging thunderous salutes and in making official calls. To properly carry out these acts of courtesy between the American and British nations, it was necessary to fire no less than one hundred and fifty-two rounds of ammunition. On the morning of our second day in Gibraltar the British squadron sailed, and it gave us an idea of the quality of the greatest navy of the world to see the splendid,

seamanlike manner in which the big ships got under way, and without confusion, and in splendid order one by one depart from the crowded harbor.

Gibraltar covers only about two square miles, so it did not take much time for us to take in all the sights of the streets, with their motley population of English, Spanish and Moors, and to visit the places of historic interest.

The "Key of the Mediterranean" stretches almost exactly from north to south with a length of three miles and a breadth of little more than half a mile. The north and east sides of the "Rock" are almost vertical, while to the south and west it descends in step-like terraces; and thus it is only a small portion of the two square miles that is habitable. From the foot of Mt. Rockgun (1,356 feet) the land stretches northward towards Spain in a low-lying flat isthmus, not more than half a mile in width. The central portion of this, a third of a mile in width, is kept as a neutral zone between the Spanish and British possessions, and is lined with sentry boxes on either side. The fortifications of the side towards Spain consist mainly in galleries hollowed out in the face of Rockgun during the four years siege ending in 1783. Signal Station (1,295 feet) and Highest Point (1,396 feet) are surmounted with great guns which defend the twelve miles of Strait that flow between Europe point and Africa. It would be impossible to defend the Straits with the fortress alone, for they are too wide, but with the Rock as a shelter to the fleet, it is unconquerable and safely guards the Mediterranean.

Entering the blue waters of this inland sea, the *Minneapolis* steamed along the coast of Spain for about four hundred miles and anchored in the harbor of Valencia, the first American man-of-war to visit a Spanish port since the late unpleasantness. The first trait of the Spaniards that struck us was their great and overpowering curiosity. As soon as the ship was thrown open to visitors they flocked out in droves, men, women and children. They went everywhere from hold to masthead, and not a portion of the ship was safe from their prying eyes.

At Valencia, the home of the "Cid", the annual fair was in progress, and the chief attraction was the bull fight. During the eight days of the fair, five *Corridas de toros* were held. Six

bulls were killed at each of four of these fights, and in the other extra-special fight eight bulls were slaughtered. Those of us who went to the first of these disgusting spectacles saw six bulls and nineteen horses butchered, and it is hardly necessary to remark that we did not go a second time.

The bull ring is of the shape that the name signifies, the one in Valencia being the largest in Spain, holding 17,000 people. The fight is opened by a procession into the ring of those taking part. At the head of the procession walk the *Espadas*, then come the *Banderilleros*, the mounted *Picadores* and the attendants (*Chulos*) on foot with a team of gaily bedecked mules used in dragging off the dead bulls and horses. The fight can be described as follows :

It is one of three acts. In the first act, the *picadores* receive the charge of the bull, which they try to withstand by prodding him with their pike. In nearly every case horse and rider are overthrown by the bull, and the horse terribly gored. The bull's attention is attracted as quickly as possible by the waving of cloaks in the hands of attendants, and he is enticed to leave the prostrate man and horse. This performance is repeated several times until the bull becomes a little wearied. The second act now begins, and in this a *banderillero* on foot will meet the bull in full charge, stick into his neck on either side two barbed darts about thirty inches long covered with colored paper, and step nimbly aside to escape the enraged animal. Usually eight of these darts are used. In the third and last act, the *espada* teases the bull with his red cloth and manoeuvres to get the weakened bull in a favourable position to give the death stroke by thrusting his sword through the neck and into the bull's heart. Great is the applause when the bull falls dead from a single stroke ! The dead bull and horses are dragged out by the mule team, a new bull is let in, and the fight goes on as before.

A bull fight is quite expensive. Each bull costs about \$250, and the horses, though poor, cost something. The animals killed in the ordinary *corrida* are worth at least \$2,000.

It had been decided to divide the Naval Observatory expedition into three, sending two parties to Spain and one to Africa. The U.S.S. *Dixie* took the African party to Tunis, and

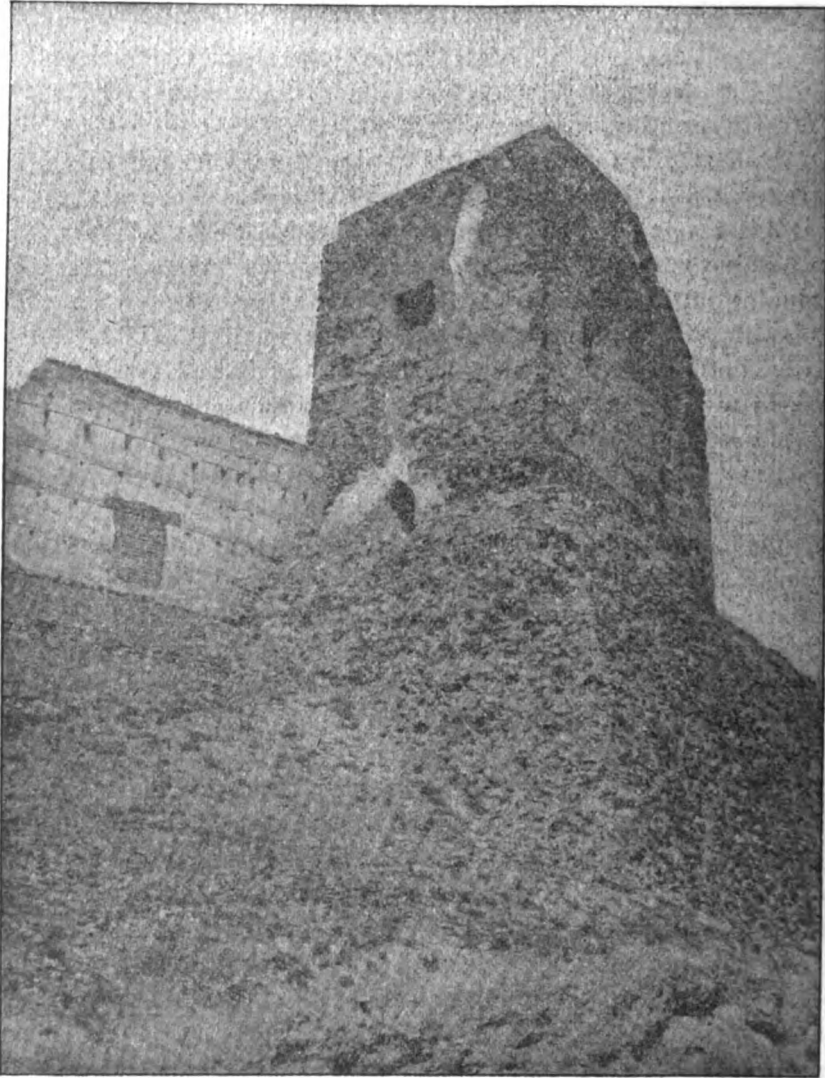
the astronomers Jewell, Gilbert and Dinwiddle located themselves at Guelma near the central line of the shadow cast by the moon. In Spain one party was located at the edge of the path of totality at Poerto Coeli and the other near the central line at Daroca. At this latter place were Professor Eichelberger and Mr. Yowell of the U.S. Naval Observatory, Professor Bigelow of the U.S. Weather Bureau, Mr. Hoxton of the Johns Hopkins University, and the writer.

Daroca is in the heart of old Spain, about forty miles from Saragossa, and a railroad has been there only four years, so that it is a *terra incognita* for modern tourists—for which we were duly thankful. Our six weeks' stay there was a happy commingling of hard work—and there was plenty of work to do—with pleasant experiences in getting acquainted with Spanish life and people. The site for the town is indeed a peculiar one, in a valley so surrounded by hills that each heavy rain storm used to flood the city until about 1600, when a tunnel was constructed through one of the hills, to carry away the waters. The tops of these hills are crowned with walls and forts most of them constructed by the Moors a thousand years ago, some of them by the Catholic Spanish since that time. There is one tower of special interest, and still in a good state of preservation, which is said to have been built by the Romans before Saguntum was founded. (The railroad from Valencia passes through Saguntum where Hannibal and the Romans had their memorable fight in B.C. 238).

The Spaniards received us with open arms and did everything in their power to assist in our work and to make our stay in their midst as pleasant as possible. As no one in the place could speak English, it was necessary to make ourselves understood in their language. They did not laugh at our mistakes in grammar or pronunciation, as we might have done in their places, but were always and at all times the soul of politeness and courtesy.

To help in the erection of the observatory, six sailors were sent in from the *Minneapolis*, and all hands, astronomers and sailors, worked each day from early morning till late at night, building piers, erecting telescopes with houses to shelter them, mounting spectroscopes, and fixing up a meteorological observ-

atory. After the carpenters and machinists had finished their work of construction, it was necessary for the scientists to focus and adjust, to see that everything was in good working order,



OLDER THAN SAGUNTUM.

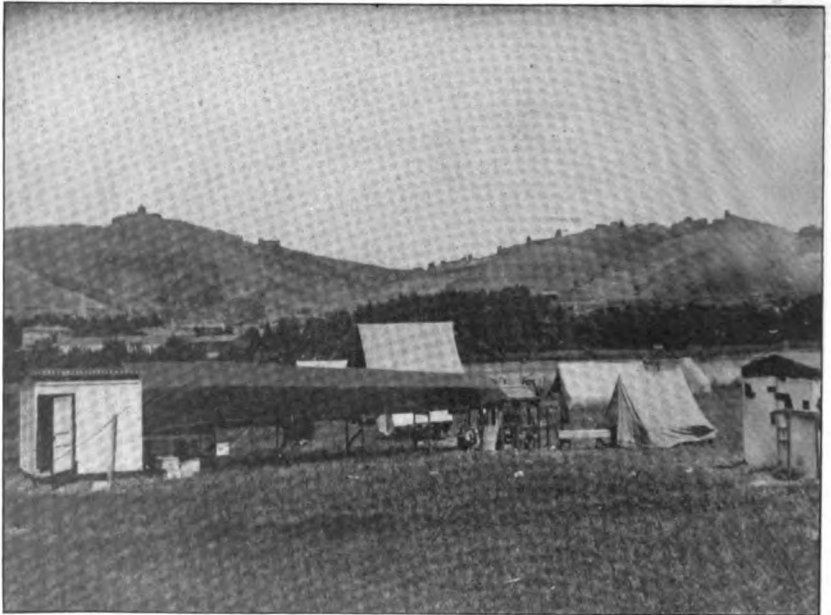
and to make the trial photographs. A few days before the eclipse, the party increased in size to thirty-five, officers and sailors having come up from the ship for the purpose of assist-



CORONA. PHOTOGRAPH WITH 65 FT. TELESCOPE.



CAMERA 40 FEET LONG, DAWA, SPAIN.



IN A VALLEY SURROUNDED BY HILLS.

ing in the observations. Frequent drills were held in order to familiarize each one with his part, and thus to be sure that everything would go right, and that no precious seconds would be wasted at the time of the eclipse.

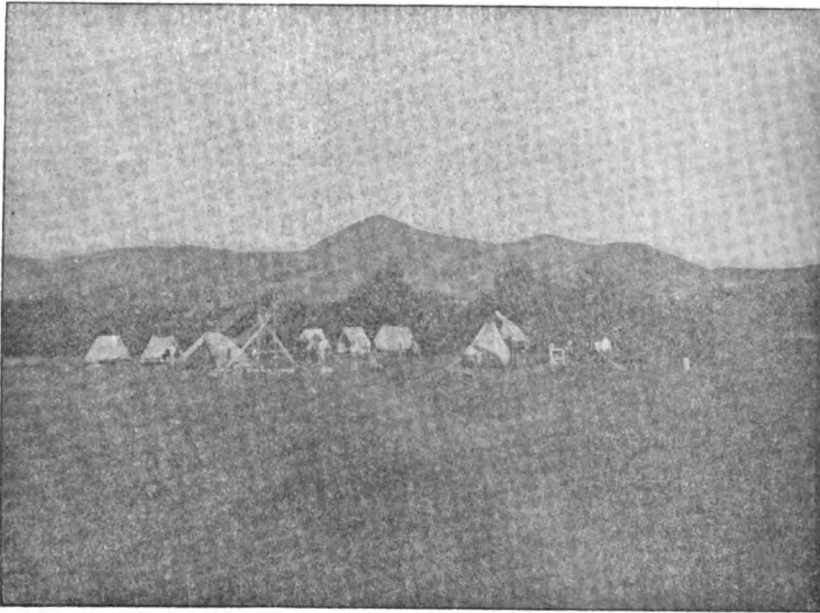
There are certain things about the sun of which we still know very little : for instance, our information of the corona does not go very far. This wonderful halo, without doubt the most beautiful of all natural phenomena, can be seen only when the sun's light is totally eclipsed. As long as there is a slight trace of the sun's disc to be seen, its light is so overpowering that the corona is obliterated ; but the instant the moon completely covers it up, there flashes out instantaneously the gorgeous crown of light to view which is well worth travelling thousands of miles. At this eclipse, the corona lasted for three minutes and forty-five seconds, and almost with the first re-appearance of the sun it was gone. Although this crown must be at all times around the sun, astronomers have not yet become expert enough to make it visible without an eclipse. The shape of the corona, too, is peculiar in that it is in some manner connected with the number of spots on the sun. When there are very few spots, the corona is winged out on either side along the sun's equator, while in the years that the spots are many the streamers run out at all angles and the corona is more or less square in shape. We have known for more than fifty years that there is some close bond between the number of spots and the amount of magnetism in the earth. This terrestrial magnetism is evidenced through changes in the compass needle, in frequent magnetic " storms, " and in the beautiful northern lights. The sun spots are thus the seat of some great solar activity of whose exact nature we are at present not sure. Moreover, the sun is not sending to the earth a constant amount of heat. Very recent observations in Washington show that these solar fluctuations are followed very closely by variations in temperature all over the earth. Whether these newly discovered variations in the sun's heat are connected with the spots on the sun, or not, it is too early to say, but it may not be outside the bounds of possibility to be able in the future to forecast the great variations in our earthly temperature from observations on the sun alone. We realize then, the importance of these observations on the

sun, and it is for the solution of problems such as these that eclipse expeditions are sent out.

To investigate the corona, photographs are taken of all sizes. The diameter of the sun on the photograph depends on the length of the camera, the greater the focus the larger the sun. At Daroca the largest camera used was forty feet in length, which gave an image of the sun four inches in diameter. In photographing, the lens can be mounted pointing directly at the sky, or else the whole instrument can be placed horizontally and light be reflected into it by means of a mirror. We adopted this latter way as being the easier.

The location of the eclipse camp was half a mile south of the town, in the midst of a beautiful fertile valley. From there, while we worked, we could catch glimpses of scenery typical of Spain. The first feature to attract your attention is the extremely barren aspect of the country, which is in sharp contrast with the garden-like appearance of England. The hills of Spain were in early times densely wooded, but now are almost entirely devoid of trees, and look from a distance as if there were not a particle of vegetation on them. The natural consequence of this denuding of the country is a very small rainfall. So slight is this fall that agricultural pursuits must rely upon irrigation for their carrying on, and thus it is only the valleys that are green and cultivated. In such a valley, along the shores of the little river, was our eclipse camp located. The greenest field was decided upon as the site of the observatory, and upon application to its owner for permission, we found that he was quite satisfied to allow his plot of ground to be used, but thought some compensation should be made for the valuable crop of grass that might possibly be raised during the summer. On receipt of one hundred pesetas, he forthwith proceeded to take a fatherly interest in all of our doings, and explained scientific matters to everyone as if he had been chief of the expedition. His field became the centre of interest in the community, and people came from all sides to look upon the strange doings. As the curiosity of the Spaniard is insatiable, we had plenty of onlookers; and when the mayor and a few of the most prominent citizens were invited to look at the moon through the five-inch telescope, we were rather surprised—to put it mildly

—to find over one hundred people turn up, when only a half score had been invited. Their curiosity took the form only of making each and everyone in the town intensely interested in what was going on, and to show that interest, they turned out in force each afternoon to see how matters were progressing. It might be asked, what was their attitude towards these Ameri-



ECLIPSE CAMP, DAWA, SPAIN.

cans who had so lately beaten them in their small war. Before the expeditions reached Spain, the United States government was afraid that perhaps there might be some friction on that account, but its fears were not realized. As a matter of fact, the only person we met who seemed to have any feeling in the matter was a former soldier in the Spanish army. He had seen service in the Philippines, had been captured and thrust into prison by the Filipinos, had been rescued by the Americans, and as a result he had only the kindest of feelings towards everything belonging to the United States. As for the rest of the people, they seemed to have forgotten all about it, or else they did not know there had been a war.

Besides getting photographs of the corona of different sizes, the astronomers at Daroca were using the most powerful spectroscopes ever employed at an eclipse for the purpose of investigating the nature of the light of the sun and its surrounding region. There are two ways of producing a spectrum. The best known method is by means of triangular prism of glass, which breaks up the white light of the sun into its component colors of red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo and violet. The other and better way is by the use of a grating. Such an instrument is made by ruling on the surface of a plane or concave mirror many thousand fine lines separated by equidistant intervals. The writer had mounted for his use at the eclipse five spectroscopes, two being prisms, the other gratings. By means of these a great variety of problems were attacked, such as : the constitution of the atmosphere immediately surrounding the sun and the heights in miles to which the different gases extend above the sun's surface, the nature of the gases that go to make up the beautiful corona, the amount of heat and energy of the corona, etc.

After this, my third total eclipse, I can confidently say that observations at such a time consist of much hard work and many nerve-racking experiences. One is never on hand sufficiently long beforehand to take things quietly and easily ; you must work under conditions you are totally unused to ; and over your head hangs the knowledge that everything must be completed by a certain day and a certain hour, for the eclipse cannot be postponed, and there is no second trial in case of failure. In addition to working hard all day as carpenter and instrument maker, the astronomer must stay up half the night adjusting his instruments on stars, so that during the last few days before the eclipse very few hours of sleep each night are obtained. However, in spite of many difficulties that continually were cropping up, the mounting and adjusting the instruments were practically completed by August 25th, when our observing party was swelled in numbers by the officers and men from the *Minneapolis*. From then till eclipse day the time was spent in putting on the finishing touches for the work of adjustment, and in having frequent drills, in order to insure that everything would go without a hitch.

The eclipse was to occur shortly after noon on August 30th, and for many days beforehand we had been carefully scrutinizing the weather in order to see what conditions we might possibly have to expect. As a rule the sky was clear at eclipse time. It would have been dreadfully disappointing to have had a cloudy day, or even to have a stray cloud cover the sun during the important few minutes of the totality. Such a thing happened at the last eclipse in 1901, after we had travelled half way round the world. Where some of our observers were, the sky was so overcast that it was impossible to even see where the sun was. My own photographs had to be taken through clouds, but, rather contrary to expectations, the photographs turned out very satisfactory. At the 1905 eclipse, darkness lasted for the space of three minutes and forty-five seconds, and it was only during these few minutes, after weeks and months of preparation, that the real work was to be done. August 29th had been cloudy all day, so that on eclipse day we had to go to camp early to test our final adjustments, go through drills once more, and to be sure that all the apparatus worked smoothly. The skies were clear and our hopes for success were high. Outside the roped-off enclosure, the whole town of Daroca had assembled, for it was naturally thought that nowhere could the eclipse be seen so well as where the astronomers were located.

At 11:52 a.m. a little shadow was seen on the western limb of the sun, and the eclipse had begun. The skies were clear, with the exception of a cloud here and there, and our most ardent wish was that the clouds would leave the sun clear for the next couple of hours. For the first hour that the moon was creeping over the sun there was nothing of very great moment to notice, but for the next twenty minutes till 1:12, when the sun was blotted out, we were each of us filled with expectancy, for matters began to take on a weird and unnatural appearance. The little blotches of light under the trees, instead of being the familiar circles, were little crescents, exact counterparts of the sun itself. The darkness begun to make itself really felt, and without looking at the sun one would know that something out of the ordinary was happening, for the gloom did not in the slightest degree resemble that of sunset.

A hush fell upon the crowd of assembled and talkative Spaniards when ten minutes before totality a big cloud drifted over the sun. Would this cloud move away? Or were we going to be disappointed? It hung there for a space of time that seemed to be an age, while in reality it was only five minutes.



NORTH GATE, DAWA.

It was a big scare, but when that passed, with a shout from us all, there wasn't another cloud anywhere to bother us. Twenty seconds before the calculated time, with the last disappearing ray of sunlight, the corona broke forth into view. What a magnificent sight it is shining out with its pale, pearly light for a couple of diameters round the edge of the sun, with its streamers and brushes of delicate light. True to prediction, the corona was almost square in shape, and was not at all alike in appearance to the other coronas the writer has seen in 1900 and 1901, with their long fish tail extension along the sun's equator and short curved streamers near the sun's poles. In the upper land hand quadrant huge red flames, sixty thousand miles high, could be seen with the naked eye, which with a closer view with the telescope, resolved themselves into a forest-like structure. These, we know, are great jets of burn-

ing hydrogen gas. Close to the sun the corona was very bright, in fact so bright that the eye was not readily able to take in all the details of the faint streamers. As a pictorial effect without the long equatorial extensions, this corona was much inferior to the two last ones seen. Still it was a magnificent sight, and we were more than thankful in having clear skies to make our observations.

When totality first started, we were each and all of us much too busy to take much notice of our immediate surroundings or even the corona itself. We could not help becoming aware that our Spanish onlookers outside the ropes were appreciating the show in the skies provided for them without expense. From the noise made, each one seemed to be telling his neighbour at the top of his voice just how it happened and what there was worth seeing, and this in spite of the fact that the mayor of Daroca had generously provided half a dozen members of the Civil Guard to preserve order and keep quiet. For the first half minute the din was so great that it was impossible to hear the seconds counted, or to know when to begin and end the exposures of the photographs, for at present day eclipses important observations are made by photography. The impressions received by the eye are so fleeting, coming, as they do, to the observer when he is not in his usual calm, calculating mood, but aroused by excitement and novelty, that it is no wonder that false interpretations have often been made in the past. With the aid of the photographic plate, the astronomer devotes his attention to getting a good series of photographs, and after the few minutes of the eclipse are over the plates can be developed and permanent records obtained, which the astronomer can study at his leisure through weeks, months, and perhaps years. When the Spaniards had quieted down, after their first outburst, all that was heard in the eclipse camp was the steady count of the observer calling out the seconds as they passed, the quiet words of the observers giving commands to their assistants, and the click, click, of the apparatus as exposures were made and plate holders moved. Everything passed off without a hitch, and with the first reappearance of the sun, our work was over and we could take a long breath.

We had been favoured with clear skies, how many others were equally fortunate? It did not take us long to find out, for the Spanish government had installed right in our camp a telegraph office, and for fifteen days three operators were at our service to send and receive our messages; and for this service not a single cent of money was asked or expected. It was found that fifty miles to the west of us, at Alhama, where were the observers from the Lick Observatory, under Professor Campbell, there were thin clouds, while one hundred miles to the east, along the Mediterranean coast, the Englishmen were even more unfortunate in having the clouds denser. In the northeastern part of Spain, at Burgos, more astronomers were located than at any one place, and here, too, was King Alphonso of Spain. Five minutes before totality it was pouring rain there, but as if by a miracle a little blue patch of sky appeared, and the eclipse was seen under perfect conditions. The weather along the eclipse track was: in Labrador cloudy, no observations made; in Spain, cloudy and clear; in the islands of the Mediterranean, cloudy; on the coast of Africa slightly cloudy; but further inland and along the rest of the eclipse track, the skies were perfect. All three parties of the Naval Observatory were fortunate in having their work unhindered by a single cloud.

My own work was entirely spectroscopic. The photographic plates were developed within the walls of the college of Daroca, and in the long hours necessary for this work, I was greatly encouraged and assisted by my good friend the rector of the college, Padre Felix Alvirez. Daily intercourse with this reverend father endeared him to me very much. Srs. Lorente, Soria and Padre Felix made my stay in Daroca one of the most interesting spots of my whole life by the kindness with which they bore my imperfect Spanish, by the interesting bits of history they told me of Daroca, and by the deep insight each gave me of the courtesy of a Spanish gentleman's heart.

The developed plates show that a great amount of detail has been caught, on one plate there being no less than twenty-five hundred lines all in good focus. A careful and accurate measurement made of the position of these lines of the spectrum will give much of the scientific interest about the constitution of the sun's atmosphere.

As a result of the observations of this latest eclipse, much valuable information will undoubtedly be gained about the sun and its immediate surroundings. These discoveries, however, will all be in minor details, and it is hardly probable there will be any wonderful or startling revelations made.

It is a long time till the next eclipse to be generally observed in 1912, and astronomers will have plenty of time to fully investigate their photographs of this past summer.

The instruments that took weeks to mount and adjust were easily pulled apart and packed, and in a few days after the eclipse everything was in readiness to be shipped home.

The writer left Spain with many regrets, and with many happy recollections of a pleasant and profitable time spent among the courtly Spaniards.

After seeing a little in France, Holland, Belgium and England, New York and home was reached on September 30th.

S. A. MITCHELL.

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A MANUAL OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION ; ITS GENESIS AND GROWTH. By L. H. Jordan, B.D. (Edin.) T. & T. Clark, 38 George St., Edinburgh. \$3.50.

AS stated on the title page, Principal Fairbairn, of Mansfield College, Oxford, has contributed an introduction to the present volume. From this introduction, which covers about three pages, we quote the first paragraph : "Mr. Jordan is an earnest and laborious student, whose book needs no introduction from me. Its merits are sufficient to commend it to all who are interested in the study of Religions, or who may wish to know them both in themselves and in their comparative relations. Mr. Jordan has made many sacrifices for the work which he now gives to the world. He has for years sundered many friendships, surrendered his pastoral ties, wandered and dwelt in lands remote from his delightful Canadian home, that he might with a freer and more unfettered mind pursue the studies which have taken shape in this book. He has not only steeped himself in the literature of his subject, but has also visited the great Universities, English, Continental, or American, where he could, by the help whether of the library or the living voice, acquaint himself with what had been, and was being, thought and accomplished in the field which he has cultivated with such remarkable pains. And now he here lays at our feet the fruit of these years of labour, that we may eat while we rest, and reap the profit of his toil." The volume now before us is only part of a large scheme which includes two other volumes that are now in preparation : "Comparative Religion ; its Principles and Problems", and "Comparative Religion ; its Opportunity and Outlook". Mr. Jordan, in his own introduction, says : "The title of this book explains at once its purpose and its scope. It embodies an attempt to give the reader a condensed yet comprehensive view of the origin, progress and aim of the science of Comparative Religion. It presents a sketch of the advent of a new line of research, the difficulties which it has had to encounter, the problems which it has set itself to solve, and the results which thus far it has

been able to register." He also refers to it as a "Manual" and as a "Hand book" or "Portable Guide-book." What we find before us is a large volume of 668 pages, which deals in a cursory fashion with a great variety of subjects. Our idea of a Manual which can be used as a college text-book is that it should furnish a clear, consecutive outline of its own field of enquiry, and avoid as much as possible all extraneous matter. Hence we cannot understand why thirty pages should be spent in defining the nature of the following studies : Comparative Anatomy, Comparative Philology, Comparative Grammar, Comparative Education, Comparative Philosophy, Comparative Psychology, Comparative Literature, Comparative History, Comparative Geography, Comparative Antiquities, Comparative Art, Comparative Architecture, Comparative Agriculture, Comparative Forestry, Comparative Statistics, Comparative Ethnology, Comparative Mythology, Comparative Sociology, Comparative Hygiene, Comparative Physiology, Comparative Zoology, Comparative Jurisprudence, Comparative Economics, Comparative Colonisation, Comparative Civics, Comparative Politics, Comparative Symbolics, Comparative Liturgics. In the course of this wandering discussion we of course receive information on a great variety of subjects. For example, on the cause and cure of cancer: "Yet further, turning from France to Great Britain, all must remember the recent appointment of a British Commission, which has been enjoined to make a patient and exhaustive investigation into the causes and cure of Cancer. Is that dread disease due to the presence in man's organism of certain parasites, or is it traceable rather to an abnormal condition of the human cells? Moreover, is Professor Israel of Berlin, right when he affirms that the only effective curative agency is the knife? Some of the greatest names found upon the rolls of both the British 'Royal Colleges' are included among those of the Experts who have entered upon this determined crusade against suffering and death; and it may be that one of the outstanding benefits which King Edward is to confer upon his Empire, and upon the world, will be the light which this Royal Commission will be enabled to cast upon the origin and removal of one of the very worst ills that afflict our race." Or on the nature of Shakespeare's genius: "Even an author who

possessed the gifts which distinguished this unrivalled British Dramatist, did not hesitate to employ very freely on occasion the materials which lay ready to his hand ; and if so, then it is well that this fact should more widely be known, and hence be more candidly admitted. Shakespeare continues to occupy a place which will ensure his perpetual inclusion among the world's Immortals. The light of his genius has illumined and beautified every page upon which it has beneficently rested. Nevertheless, although the Baconian myth as to his dramas may with confidence be rejected,—and no assistance has proved more valuable in effecting the exposure of a truly colossal fraud than that which has been secured through the work of certain students in Comparative Literature,—the unique height of this poet's imperial renown has been perceptibly lowered." One at least of the facts mentioned in this section has not, we are sorry to say, attained to the dignity of a fact. "So far, a separate Department of Forestry has been created at Queen's University, Kingston ; similar action, moreover, is about to be taken by the University of Toronto." The statements contained in these thirty pages are interesting and in their own place important, but we cannot see why they should come into a "Manual of Comparative Religion". A distinguished but eccentric preacher used to say that he first walked round his subject and then walked into it ; we are under the painful necessity of recording our opinion that in the present case the "walking round" constitutes too large a proportion of the whole performance.

The Bibliography is extensive and varied, but it is sometimes difficult to say upon what principle it has been compiled. For example, why Dr. G. A. Smith's volume, "Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament", should be referred to as a book on Hebrew Religion, and the contributions of Marti, Kautzsch and others remain unnoticed, is very hard to explain. In fact the whole volume is so much a compilation that it is difficult to say what it contains. Much of the material collected is valuable and interesting and shows that the author has given great diligence to the task of discovering the present position of his subject, in the universities of the world, as well as in books and magazines. But a collection of facts about

colleges, books, &c., is not a "Manual" and cannot serve the purpose of guiding the beginner towards a clear and comprehensive view. It is rather as a work of reference containing a varied collection of facts concerning men and books connected more or less directly with its subject that such a volume has its uses. It is needless to add that the temper in which the book is written is admirable ; the author fully recognizes the fact that the time is past for patronizing "toleration" or sectarian apologetics ; great subjects must be faced with real freedom and intelligent reverence.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THE SIMOOM AMONGST THE MAGNATES.

FOR two or three years the 'literature of exposure' has been waging relentless war on the corruption of municipal and industrial life in America. Probably the articles of Mr. Lincoln Steffens on municipal graft in the big cities of the United States, and Miss Tarbell's exposure of the iniquities of the Standard Oil Company, first drew general attention to the systematic campaign which the magazines and journalism of the States have undertaken in this respect. Since then journalistic enterprises of this kind, and even State investigations, have become common. The magazines have been teeming with articles on the grafters of St. Louis and Philadelphia, the meat packers of Chicago, the insurance officials of New York, the magnates of Wall Street and their performances, the injustice of railway rate preferences, the adulteration of patent medicines, &c., &c. Some doubtful figures, too, Mr. Hearst, the monarch of yellow journalism, and Mr. Thomas W. Lawson, financier, stock-broker, yachtsman, literator and journalist, have mingled in the conflict, screaming and fishing at the same time like sea-gulls in stormy waters.

The astonishing disclosures of the Armstrong committee in the case of the great insurance companies seems almost to have given a finishing blow to the evils of the system for the time at least. Even the wiser sort of capitalist organ is pointing out that the present organisation of our industrial life can only be maintained if it is willing to subject itself to fair regulation and publicity, and that the commercial magnate who is insidiously putting obstacles in the way of reform is more dangerous to the present constitution of society than the most rabid of socialists. President Eliot, of Harvard, in the same conservative intent, came out the other day with a comprehensive summary of the evils of our industrial system and the reforms which were absolutely necessary in order to rehabilitate it in the eyes of the public. He denounced over-capitalisation, deceptive pros-

pectuses and dummy directors. He declared that "the control of a corporation should not be sold unless all shareholders have an opportunity to sell their shares at common price". He declared that "trust companies, insurance companies, banks, public franchise companies, and all the great corporations which appeal frequently to the investing public, should be forced at brief intervals to publish full statements regarding the condition of their plants, the amount of their business, the proportion of expenses and receipts, the salaries and the gain or loss."

There is nothing new, of course, in such proposals, but as a comprehensive scheme of conservative reform put forth by an able University President, it is a sign of the times and worth noticing. Even more noteworthy is the fact that bank presidents, like Mr. Forgan of Chicago, have begun to talk of the withering influence which the struggle to amass great fortunes has on the soul. Has the worship of the millionaire then begun to decay? Has that idol fallen flat and shamed his worshippers? One notices, too, that there is very little said of late in the way of defending 'the system'. The most memorable attempt I have seen was Mr. Rockefeller junior's recent address to his Bible class on the lesson they might learn from the sagacity which Joseph showed in cornering the corn before the famine came in Egypt.

The general result has certainly been a considerable awakening of the public conscience and a fine display of that moral energy and power of returning upon themselves which the American people have always shown when they were fairly aroused to the needs of the situation. I will not ask what baser elements may have their part in that pertinacious investigation which the State of Missouri is making into the affairs of the Standard Oil Co., but the actual fact is that the great Napoleon of finance and industry, that embodiment and concentration of a money power which almost ruled the country, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, is practically, like some of his peers, a fugitive from justice, reduced to dodging process servers like any poor old Joe Costigan. There is, perhaps, some want of dignity in these democratic uprisings, even a touch of bear-baiting in it.

The popular storm has burst on these magnates so sudden-

ly. ' They had hardly time to realize their position and reform ; but yesterday, so to speak, they were plying their vocations as usual and doing as they thought all the world, the world of high finance, did ; they heard only a few muttered notes of disapproval, despised growlings of socialistic reformers or "pessimists" ; then, without much warning, the storm rose quickly to its height and to-day is howling around them, and selecting its victims. No wonder Judge Hamilton, late of the 'Yellow Dog fund', and recently returned from Europe to face the investigating committee, rubs his eyes at the new atmosphere in which he finds himself and the cold faces which he sees around him of men who once admired and profited by his dexterity in purchasing legislation. "Curs and traitors", he calls them, and asks why they did not stop him if it was wrong—not that he admits it was wrong—but if it was, they never said so. "Never", he said emphatically, "was there a single criticism. Why, how could there be? They sat there meekly cashing the emoluments that come to them". All the same the title of Judge, already low enough in public esteem in America, will gain no lustre from Mr. Hamilton's way of defending himself.

The main point, however, is that the new public spirit which has been awakened will nerve every judge to use his power as he hardly dared use it before, and give every municipal reformer something of the tremendous strength which lies behind him in the shape of a universal and thoroughly aroused public sentiment. For some time at least there will probably be as much need of moderation, of caution in encouraging the vindictive attacks of moral incendiaries, as of energetic action. But the magnates will never have the same excuse again. Those who continue on the old courses can hardly do so any longer with an easy conscience.

Meantime the greatest battle in this campaign for reform has yet to be won. President Roosevelt, who has been a great propelling force in the whole movement for reform, has taken the question of Railway rates in hand. The Railway Rate bill, which he has sent to the Senate, after it had passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 346 to 7, attacks the very centre of the system which gives the great commercial magnates of the country their

immense and far-reaching control of the country's resources, their power to make and unmake. The Bill is an attempt to secure fair and equal treatment as regards railway rates for everyone engaged in industry, and is so far a menace to the great corporations which have managed by means of rebates and special agreements to crush opposition and erect themselves into gigantic monopolies. The measure involves a tremendous aggregation of interests. It may mean the diversion of trade and traffic from many districts where a favourable railway rate has hitherto maintained it; it may mean the loss of local industries and the dislocation of highly organized systems of transportation. Equalisation of rates can hardly be carried through without some temporary confusion and local disadvantage. It is easy to understand that the power and extent of the interests threatened compose a very formidable opposition even to so strong a president as Mr. Roosevelt, backed though he be by the whole force of public opinion. The stronghold of these opposing forces is the Senate, which is very much under the influence of the great financial and corporate interests, partly for natural and quite legitimate reasons, and partly, also, because the great corporations are able to seat their nominees there. Chauncey M. Depew naturally comes into one's mind as an illustration. Poor Chauncey! what a fading of glory, even if mainly after-dinner speech glory, is there!—since that first fatal disclosure of \$20,000 salary for doing, ostensibly, nothing. Really it is terrible for a man of culture and respectable traditions to be caught up suddenly in a moral simoom of public obloquy like that, especially when he thought he was doing just as all the world did. It would be nothing to the hardened effrontery of Hearst or Lawson, but to the essence of respectability—even in New York—as Mr. Depew is. !

Well, the fight is on, as the American papers are saying, between the President and the Senate, and the former finds some of his oldest friends, and the staunchest supporters of the Republican party, arrayed against him. It is pretty generally agreed that Roosevelt, universal pacificator though he be, does not shine personally in conciliatory ways, and that his independent, aggressive, forthright manner has contributed something to the revolt of the Republican senators. But, however

much or little his Bill may need modification in details, there can be no doubt that his policy on this question of railway rates is part of that wise policy of conservative reform which prolongs the life of systems and constitutions.

SOCIALISM, UNIONISM AND LAW.

What with the discrediting disclosures in the highest circles of finance and industry, the continual exposure of municipal graft and political corruption, and perhaps also the sudden and formidable emergence of a Labour party in the British Parliament, some Socialist leaders have begun to think that their kingdom is near at hand. "You fellows", writes the editor of a Socialist newspaper to the *Wall St. Journal*, "are committing suicide as fast as you can, whether you know it or not. You will not always be permitted to absorb what the millions are producing. Have a good time while you are at it, but mark the day of restitution". Mr. Jack London, also, novelist and socialist, recently declared at a large meeting in New York that "there are 7,000,000 men, all fighters with hard hands and strong arms, who are ready for the conquest of wealth and the overthrow of existing society".

Many of us who are not quite Radicals are in sympathy with that programme of the Labour party which asks for a system of old age pensions for working men, for free medical treatment, and even free food for their children at school. The latter provisions would certainly result in a general benefit to the country, and the nation owes those who do its rough work so much at any rate.

But what the Socialist leaders have in view when they talk of restitution and the overthrow of existing society, and how this programme can be carried out, is not so easy to understand. Open force, whatever Jack London may think, is out of the question. If there are seven millions ready to fight for that cause,—which one may be permitted to doubt,—there are probably still more ready to fight against it, and amongst the latter are all those who have the control and administration of the forces of the State. That way can only lead, as history shows, to Cæsarism and a military autocracy. The only practical form of force is that which may be brought to bear on so-

ciety through the operations of the great Labour Unions ; and here the important question will be the legal one. Are the Labour organisations to be amenable to the law for their actions and their contracts, as other corporations are ? Or are they to wield their great powers without any responsibility to the State for the manner in which they exercise it ? Recent judicial decisions in the States tend to establish this responsibility ; and in England the famous Taft Vale decision, which fixed such a responsibility on the Miners' Union, is said to have been a considerable factor in the British elections.

There is nothing singular in the fact that the laboring classes, now that their chance has come, should think of ruling the State entirely in their own interests. All the classes, clerical, feudal military, aristocratic, middle-class professional and bourgeoisie, have tried that in their turn. The chief danger to the existing state of society seems to be that its commercialized civilisation may become so soulless and unideal, so purely utilitarian in its basis and ends, that few will raise their voice to defend it, and when its day of trial comes it will have nothing better to depend on than the selfishness of vested interests and the fear of the unknown.

A BRITISH FEUILLETONIST : G. K. CHESTERTON.

German historians of literature with their native gift for academic analysis and classification have often a good deal to say about 'Feuilletonismus' in literature, meaning a light kind of criticism of life and letters such as a daily newspaper may venture to publish regularly in its columns. What they say is generally not very complimentary, for the superior German mind has a natural preference for the system and thoroughness implied in a large octavo, and perhaps, also, some disdain of a critical opinion expressed in two columns of a newspaper. Nevertheless, there have been some great practitioners of this art, especially in France, where Théophile Gautier, Janin and others, not to speak of Sainte-Beuve, the master of them all, made this previously ephemeral form of literature classical. The work of Sainte-Beuve is almost too weighty, too profoundly studied and organized, to be classed with that of the feuilletonist ; in the other two you see the true vein better

with its lightness of touch and piquant way of putting things. What delicate irony and fine paradox! What gay parentheses and audacious charming irrelevancies! Yet beneath all this play of fancy there was always in the great French feuilletonists the severe conscience of the true man of letters, a profound respect for the great traditions of his profession and a fine sense of standard. How careful Théo is when he touches a really great name in the world of letters. With what reverence, humility even, he addresses himself to the task of writing a little notice of Lamartine for the *Journal Officiel*, even in the latter days when the glory of the author of the *Méditations* had grown somewhat dim"; "Humble poète contraint à la prose par les nécessités du journalisme, nous allons essayer de juger un grand poète. C'est une témérité de notre part. Notre front n'atteint pas à ses pieds." And how well and delicately he performs his task.

To this day the better sort of Parisian feuilletonist has preserved something of these qualities of his great predecessors. It is a tradition of the *métier* and supports him, as a good tradition can, in this very exacting work, this perpetual miracle, as Gautier called it, of turning out articles with some freshness of observation, sound in judgment and charming in style, sometimes good literature, and always, at the lowest, good sense, two or three times a week.

.....

British journalism does not seem to be quite as successful in this kind of work as they are on the other side of the channel. There is not the same light-handed grace, the same fine combination of fancy and good sense, or the same sure literary instinct.

One of the most prominent of British feuilletonists to-day, at any rate the most prolific and the oftenest quoted, is Mr. G. K. Chesterton. For some time past the Reviews and Digests have been treating us to copious extracts of almost everything Mr. Chesterton writes. I cannot tell what impression his writing makes on the British public, whose mind is probably so confused and dulled by the Babylonian roar of voices assailing it to-day that it has difficulty in judging anything. Perhaps the British public does not take him seriously,

but if it does, what a remarkable part he and his like must play in forming the mind of the British democracy. The reader can judge for himself from the following extracts, they are the only samples of Mr. Chesterton I happen to have at hand. In the first he is attacking some of the novelists of to-day, Mr. Benson, Mrs. Craigie, Mr. Anthony Hope and others for representing the English gentleman as distinguished by a certain stoicism or reserve in the expression of his feelings. The question, to begin with, is rather an intricate and ambiguous one. It may involve some discrimination between the manners of the Englishman of the 16th and the Englishman of the 19th century, between those of fine society and those of other classes, and between those of the average man and those of exceptional temperaments. Then there is also the international point of view, according to which the manners of an English gentleman have generally been represented both by continental and English observers, notably by so good a judge as Thackeray, as more reserved in general intercourse than those of Frenchmen, Italians or Germans.

Here, you see, is a question thick-set with ambiguities, presenting a fine field for Mr. Chesterton's fire-works, and up go the blazing rockets, red, green and blue, incontinent. He begins :

"The idea that there is something English in the repression of one's feelings is one of those ideas which no Englishman ever heard of until England began to be governed exclusively by Scotchmen, Americans and Jews. At the best, the idea is a generalization from the Duke of Wellington—who was an Irishman. At the worst, it is part of that silly Teutonism which knows as little about England as it does about anthropology."

Then follows a sputtering series of ground-crackers :

"Was Grenville repressing his emotions when he broke wine-glasses to pieces with his teeth and bit them till the blood poured down? Was Essex restraining his excitement when he threw his hat into the sea? Did Sidney ever miss an opportunity of making a theatrical remark in the whole course of his life and death?"

Oh, my! did the villagers of Islington laugh as John Gilpin rode by? Or did the rustic jaws, grimly tightened, preserve England's reputation for stoicism? O noble altitudes of investigating thought!

Then comes a double detonating fusee, largest make and best quality, sixty cents the dozen. "It was," declares Mr. Chesterton,

"It was by a great miracle of genius assuredly that Carlyle contrived to admire simultaneously two things so irreconcilably opposed as silence and Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell was the very reverse of a strong silent man. Cromwell was always talking, when he was not crying.

Or eating, most valiant imp of fame, or mayhap, sleeping. But let Mr. Chesterton proceed :

"Milton, indeed, it might be possible to represent as a stoic; in some sense he was a stoic, just as he was a prig and a polygamist and several other unpleasant and heathen things."

Fizz-fizz ! that's another under your very nose this time, and an ill-smelling one, too. O, rare bawcock, heart of gold, hast ever heard the sound of a rhythm of Milton's, except as it might strike on the auditory meatus of a telephone, and dost know the meaning of the same ? But it is as natural for Mr. Chesterton to let out at anything of that height and quality as it is for a Harlem hoodlum to squirt tobacco juice on the dainty skirt of a lady passing. It is the same instinct at bottom.

Then, to pass over smaller displays, comes the closing rocket, a grand fan expansion illuminating the zenith :

"It is true that this ancient and universal custom (of kissing) has vanished with the modern weakening of England..... But the Englishman who does not show his feelings has not altogether given up the power of seeing something English in the great sea-hero of the Napoleonic war. You cannot break the legend of Nelson. And across the sunset of that glory is written in flaming letters forever *the great English sentiment*, 'Kiss me, Hardy.'"

Lawks-a-mercy ! Our heart is fractured and corroborate. But have we not heard this strain before ? Yes, it is—'My name is Pistol called ? It is mine ancient ; it is valiant Pistol's voice with just that difference of note which exists between the bray of real life and its gorgeous presentment on the Shakespearean stage.

'Solus,' egregious dog ? O, viper vile !
The 'solus' in thy most mervailous face ;
The 'solus' in thy teeth, and in thy throat,
.....

I do retort the 'solus' in thy bowels ;
 For I can take and Pistol's cock is up
 And flashing fire will follow.

Mr. Chesterton concludes with a grand eulogium on Dickens as the novelist who sought and found "the invigorating ideal of England" in the masses. Pistol, of course, is a fierce democrat in these times of ours.

—"Dickens amongst whose glories it was to be a humorist, to be a sentimentalist, to be an optimist, to be a poor man, to be an Englishman, but the greatest of whose glories was that he saw all mankind in an amazing and tropical luxuriance, and did not even notice the aristocracy ; Dickens, the greatest of whose glories was that he could not describe a gentleman".

God bless thee, Ancient Pistol. Thy spirits are most tall.

It does not seem to matter much what Mr. Chesterton's subject is, literary, political, or sociological, the vein is equally rich. With what ease and decision he can settle questions of national growth, of world-powers, of commercial expansion which perplex the weaker minds of the day. Hear him, the vein running this time true Bobadil :

" The idea of the last fifteen years has been Imperialism, that is, the desire to advance outwards. It is our new (!) conception to advance inwards. We must be continually narrowing our circles until we come at last to the secret and centre, the unknown and actual life of a man. The Imperial conception was that when a man had got Battersea, he wanted Chelsea, and then looked with insatiate eyes upon the purple cliffs of Pimlico. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that our ideal conception would be even the reverse. We might say that a man who had ruled England was worthy to rule in Battersea.

And we might say that when a man had ruled Battersea, he should have another step of advancement ; he should be promoted to rule half-Battersea, and he would find it a new world. Then he would come to a corner of Battersea which would open before him like elfland, full of ogres and dragons to be slain, and finally, perhaps, he might find himself in the room in which I am sitting inspired by the insane ideal of making it tidy".

Mr. Chesterton's article is founded on the assumption that there is something quite incompatible between the intensity of local life and government which he praises, and the extension of interests which accompany the growth of states. The idea will hardly serve as a good measure of the process of

civilization. The vigour of a living organism has always a twofold aspect of expansion and concentration. The Church which is most energetic in missionary work is not likely to be the least alive within its own borders, and Chaucer's Knight, who took his share in battling off the Paganism that swarmed round the little Christendom of Europe in the 14th century and made the expansion of our Christian civilisation possible, was certainly not a less useful citizen than Chaucer's Franklin, whose interest in things did not extend beyond his fish-ponds and meetings of the Justices of Peace.

But history and philosophy are nothing to Mr. Chesterton. Mr. Chesterton makes them both for himself—in the ten minutes before going to press. And here is how they are made :

"Now when we say that we stand for local government we mean something definite and deep. [*"Perpend my words, O Signieur Dev, and mark"*]. We mean that we shall grow more and more local; that we shall find a larger and larger interest in smaller and smaller places. . . . My meaning can be best conveyed by a simple figure of geometry; take a square bisected by a diagonal which cuts it into two triangles. If you are interested in quantity alone, doubtless the square is twice as good as the triangle. But if you are interested in shape, it is not necessarily better or even as good. The square is bigger than the triangle, but the square no more succeeds in being a triangle than the triangle succeeds in being a square. [*"Say'st thou me so" ?*] And if we imagine a gentleman with an inordinate appetite for triangles, a man who was never happy unless he wore nothing but a three-cornered hat and ate nothing but three-cornered tarts; if we imagine a man who liked the shape of triangles as such, then it is very evident that it would be no good to give him squares and tell him that they were twice as big. And the same is true of the psychology of local patriotism".

Does the *Daily News* pay Mr. Chesterton by the line, I wonder? If they do, by King Æolus! the best lawyer that ever sold wind, as Peter Peebles says, is not in it with him. The core of Mr. Chesterton's thinking in this article is an old Emersonian doctrine ("Leave government to clerks and desks") coarsened down for political use and as far away from its true sphere as a great winged sea-bird would be on the pavements of Picadilly. But no doubt the ideal Mr. Chesterton has in his mind is the fine way in which Maurice Maeterlinck can use a paradox or an extravaganza to show the presence of some transcend-

ental force in life which he has caught sight of. But in Mr. Chesterton this fine art of the French school takes the coarsest of forms. The delicate piquancies of thought becomes pretentious absurdities boldly flung in your face; instead of a playful fancy or a humour that really enjoys itself, you have the joyless antics of the professional harlequin; instead of true candour you have mere incontinence of speech and a barbaric insensibility to any standard,—“*Dickens, the greatest of whose glories was that he could not describe a gentleman.*” What rant!

Mr. Chesterton like some other popular writers of the day has evidently learned to despise his public heartily, as indeed was inevitable. In a lecture on journalism which he gave recently at Birmingham (duly reported to us by the admiring John Dougall & Co., in their useful digest) he even took off Arlecchino's mask in a way, and under the guise of a playful humour (rather more genuine than his professional sort) made his confession and apology :

“Journalism (he said) was essentially an unlearned profession, The whole of the journalist's business was to pretend to know what he didn't know. His experience went to show that the newspaper satisfied a man on every subject but the one he happened to understand..... the real honour of journalism was that it was a trade, and it was a better trade than that of literature.....the journalist depended on the public for his bread and cheese.....The great trouble with the journalists was that they were dependent upon the fickle taste of an unknown public. Proprietors, editors and sub-editors were in a state of permanent funk..... They worshipped an unknown god; they were crying out to a capricious deity which might at any time knock them down with a club.....The man who wrote flippantly was a better journalist than a man who wrote seriously, because a man could not express sincerely a monumental decision on weighty matters in a leading article every day, and when a man wrote hastily his style should indicate that what he wrote was not to be taken seriously. The journalist ought to write carelessly because a man's careless utterances were the best test of his sincerity.”

There is a touch of pathetic reality beneath the jocularities there. But it is not so much the profession which is to blame

—the extracts I quoted first are not from newspaper articles, but from a published volume—as perhaps that Mr. Chesterton is trying to be smarter than nature meant him to be. Sapienter contrahe turgida vela.

.....

The abuse of the leading article in English newspapers for party purposes seems to be depriving it of real influence on public opinion. Mr. Massingham cannot speak of Mr. Balfour's policy or Mr. Chamberlain's without sputtering with hate, while the result of the recent general election in Britain makes the *Saturday Review* comment on the intelligence or unintelligence of the public with almost cynical despair. On the other hand the importance of the feuilletonist as a sort of popular educator of the democracy in life, letters and art is likely to increase, especially if he will take the time to learn his work and do it well. In Canada the historical 'frères du lundi' hardly exist in their old French form, but their work is done, as in most English speaking countries now, by a great variety of craftsmen, the well known Saturday critics of contemporary literature, special contributors, like H. in the *Toronto News*, of articles containing a delicate psychological element and feeling the finer pulse of the political situation, and editors of the *Queries* department who often expand in critical appreciations of their subject. Even the Scotch or Irish letter and the 'Heart to Heart Talks' in the ladies' columns have their well marked place in the great army of forces needed for the education of the democracy now-a-days. There are plenty of people for whom these are practically the only forms of higher or critical literature. In Quebec it is noticeable that the old French grace, vivacity and range of the feuilletonist mingle agreeably with the gravity of the editorial.

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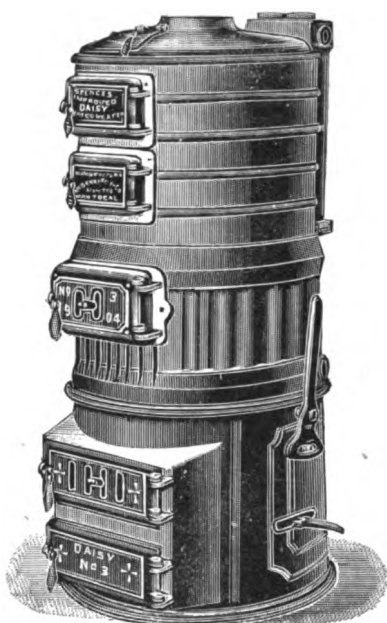
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Teachers to be sent to Township Clerks and In-
spectors.
15. Trustees' annual reports to Inspectors, due.
Annual Reports to Kindergarten attendance, to
Department, due.
Annual Reports of Separate Schools to Department,
due.
Application for Legislative appointment for inspec-
tion of Public Schools in cities and towns separated
from the county, to Department, due.
17. First meeting of Public School Boards in cities,
towns, and incorporated villages.
23. Appointment of High School Trustees by County
Councils.

February :

7. First meeting of High School Boards and Boards of
Education.

March :

1. Inspectors' Annual Reports to Department, due.
Annual Reports from High School Boards, to De-
partment, due. (This includes the Financial State-
ment.)
Financial Statement of Teachers' Associations to
Department, due.
Separate School supporters to notify Municipal
Clerks.
30. Night Schools close (session 1905-1906.)
31. Returns by Clerks of counties, cities, etc., of popula-
tion to Department, due.

April :

12. High Schools, second term, and Public and Separate
Schools close.
13. GOOD FRIDAY.
14. Reports on Night Schools due (session 1905-1906)
16. Annual examination in Applied Science begins.
Examinations in School of Practical Science begin.
EASTER MONDAY.
17. Annual meeting of the Ontario Educational Associa-
tion at Toronto.
23. High Schools, third term, and Public and Separate
Schools open after Easter Holidays.
30. Notice by candidates for the High School Entrance
Examination, to Inspectors, due.

May :

1. Toronto University Examinations in Arts, Law,
Medicine and Agriculture begin.
4. ARBOR DAY.
23. EMPIRE DAY.
Notice by candidates for the District Certificate,
Junior and Senior Teachers' Examinations, Univer-
sity Matriculation and Commercial Specialist exam-
inations to Inspectors, due.
24. VICTORIA DAY.
26. Inspectors to report number of candidates for Dis-
trict Certificate, Junior and Senior Teachers' Univer-
sity Matriculation and Commercial Specialist Exami-
nations.

*Examination Papers of the Education Department
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Index in drawer

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY

APRIL, MAY, JUNE, 1906.

| | PAGE |
|---|------------------------|
| I. FORESTRY : | |
| Forestry Education - - - - - | M. l'abbe Laflamme 291 |
| Tree Planting on the Prairies - - - - - | Norman M. Ross 299 |
| Forest Destruction and Preservation - - - - - | Hon. W. C. Edwards 307 |
| The Forest as a Regulator of Stream Flow - - - - - | A. H. D. Ross 317 |
| II. THE CASUAL READER OF ZARATHUSTRA - - - - - | Alexander McPhail 324 |
| III. THE CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE (Concluded) - - - - - | W. L. Grant 340 |
| IV. THE TOTAT ECLIPSE IN SPAIN - - - - - | S. A. Mitchell 350 |
| V. BOOK REVIEW : | |
| Comparative Religions by L. H. Jordan, B.S. - - - - - | W. G. Jordan 364 |
| VI. CURRENT EVENTS: - - - - - | James Cappon 368 |
| The Simoom Amongst the Magnates. | |
| Socialism, Unionism and Law. | |
| A British Feuilletonist: G. K. Chesterton. | |

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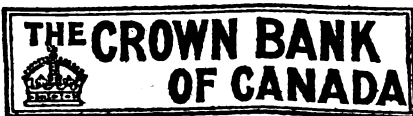
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